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ABSTRACT

This history of Greek education traces the path of modernization from the emergence of Greece as an independent state in the early 1800's up to the present date. Educational philosophy and content are seen as pawns in the social and political struggles of those years. Detailed coverage of the historical events describes the structure of education as it has evolved and the battles that brought about a popular, practical aspect to curricula. In this struggle the use of demotic or popular Greek is a real as well as symbolic issue. The slow progress of modernization, impeded most recently by the 1967 military takeover is described as the result of Greek pride in a cultural heritage embodied in traditional, classical education. Reforms achieved in 1964 are seen as indications of what may come with time. Greek terms are used throughout the history and are defined in a glossary at the end. (JH)

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CHAPTER I

A NEW STATE IN AN OLD CULTURE: PERSPECTIVES

As an independent state contemporary Greece is a relatively modern creation. It was established in the early decades of the nineteenth century after a revolutionary war (1821-1829) against the Ottoman Empire and the timely intervention of England, France, and Russia, the then great European powers. Indeed, Greece's present boundaries were not settled until after the Second World War.

Born in an era of optimism about human progress and the perfectibility of man, the new Greek nation-state was inspired and consolidated by a curious admixture of ideas, doctrines, socio-economic conditions and cultural strands. There were first the Western European Enlightenment and the French revolutionary ideology with its emphasis on freedom, equality, and national sovereignty. Secondly, there were two major cultural and ideological strands which the resurgent Greeks perceived to be indigenous to their tradition, namely, Classical Hellenism and Byzantine Orthodox Christianity. The spirit and language of ancient Hellas, in particular, animated a neo-Hellenic cultural revival which, in turn, reinforced the doctrines of emancipation from foreign rule, national identity, and independence. And thirdly, there were several external and internal forces and events; an unprecedented economic and educational awakening on the Greek peninsula and in the various Greek communities outside, power

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[1] The original Greek Kingdom (1832) encompassed the Peloponnese, Attica, Boetia, Roumeli, the Island of Euboea, and several other smaller islands, including the Cyclades. In 1864 the Ionian Islands (Corfu, Cephalonia, Zakynthos and Ithaca) were ceded by Great Britain. Thessaly, in the middle of the Greek Peninsula, was added in 1881, and after the Balkan Wars (1913) the larger territories of Epirus, Macedonia (including the important city of Salonica), Crete and the Aegean Islands (Lemnos, Chios, Samos, Mytilene, etc.) were annexed. Western Thrace was incorporated in 1923 after the Greco-Turkish War and the so-called Asia Minor Catastrophe. The Dodecanese, with the island of Rhodes, was ceded by Italy in 1947.

struggle among the major European countries for influence in Southeastern Europe and the Mediterranean, the weakening of the Sultan's power over the provinces and the high seas, and the general post-Napoleonic European climate.

The aforementioned conditions may have provided powerful weapons and the necessary grounds to rally the Greeks and philhellenes behind the cause of political independence and to create a sense of national consciousness and identity. But they did not furnish easy and workable guidelines to build a viable polity, a socially and culturally cohesive nation, and a dynamic economy. Greek national development has been characterized by political instability, economic scarcity, cultural ambivalences, and the institutionalization of ideas and patterns that have hindered modernization.

Political Perspectives. In the political realm, there have been frequent disruptive, at times disastrous, conflicts among the major institutions of the monarchy, parliament, and the military. The Greek monarchs and the military have often interfered in the political affairs of the country, acting in their assumed capacity of being the custodians of national traditions, Greek culture and the social order in general. In the twentieth century alone, there were five military interventions (1909, 1924, 1925, 1936, 1967), the last two resulting in the dissolution of parliament, the suspension of the Constitution, and the setting up of tight military dictatorships.

There are some interesting parallels between the military coups of August 4, 1936 and April 21, 1967, their pre-conditions,and the regimes they helped set up. A brief comment on them would help clarify one aspect of recent Greek political life.

Both events were preceded by street riots, strikes, unrest and a paralysis of parliamentary government or what might be called political *immobilisme*.

This was in part due to another feature of Greek politics, which has created instability, namely, fragmentation or a splinter party system. In both cases several unsuccessful attempts to form a government were made and apolitical caretaker governments were appointed. In 1936 such government was headed by General Metaxas who shortly thereafter persuaded the King to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies (the Boule), suspend the Constitution, declare martial law, and with a mere stroke of the pen, proclaim himself dictator. In 1967, the apolitical government appointed just prior to the coup d'etat, was headed by P. Kanellopoulos, the leader of the National Radical Union (ERE), the minority right-wing party. And this time the coup was staged by a group of junior army officers who again dissolved the Chamber and declared martial law, suspended key articles of the Constitution, imprisoned politicians and others, and established another military dictatorial regime. Prior to both military take-overs, mass rallies were scheduled to take place in Salonica (on August 5 in 1936, and on April 28 in 1967). These rallies were publicized by certain groups, chiefly rightist, as signalling the beginng ing of a leftist revolution that would ultimately destroy long cherished traditions, e.g., Hellenism and Christianity, established institutions such as the Church, the monarchy, the Greek family, and Greek education, and generally would recast Greek society and culture along non-Greek, non-Christian and non-Western lines. In 1967 the parallel of a Maoist-type cultural revolution was often invoked by malcontents, and a downright Communist take-over was said to be imminent. Among the grounds for justifying both interventions was an alleged communist conspiracy by inside and outside forces. Therefore the military, always acting in the best interests of the country, had to step in and "save the nation."

The established regimes after the two coups embarked upon campaigns of intimidation and terror. There was imprisonment of political leaders, of alleged communists or communist sympathizers, of people who were friends of undesirables" or who were associated with reforms made previously (this was particularly true of the 1967 regime, which is still in power). There was dismantling of many enactments and measures by previous governments (again this was more intense after 1967). University professors and school-teachers were fired or forced to resign, and were told what to say and write. Censorship of the press and other media was strictly enforced and the regimes vowed to cleanse the Greek Augean stables of moral decadence and political corruption. In turn Greece was to return to the purity' of its traditions. Thereby, it would follow logically the historic course which had its roots in the ancient and Byzantine periods and which was charted with the creation of an independent state in the nineteenth century. The institution of monarchy was retained in both instances. Finally, neither the Metaxas nor the Papadopoulos (the present) coups were followed by any substantial organized opposition.[2] Indeed, there was complete disintegration of any sort of liberal or even communist organizations or movements.

Political instability and the emergence of authoritarian regimes have been influenced and can partially be accounted for by the fragmentation, factionalism and splintering that have been so prevalent in Greek political party structure since the early days of the state. Suffice to mention that since World War II no less than 95 parties emerged out of which only 13 entered more than two electoral contests. One could say that all these splinter groups had at one time or other fallen under three major alignments: Right (Conservative), Middle or Center (Liberal), and Left,which has always been the weakest in terms of representation. But frequent shifts from Right to Center and Center to Right have occurred, often not because of new leadership (political leadership in Greece except for the Left has retained an amazing constancy) but because of graft, sell-outs, dissatisfaction with existing leaders,and the like.

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[2] One exception was the abortive counter coup by King Constantine in December 1967. But its ephemeral collapse and the unchallenged subsequent actions of the military government regarding the monarchy and other aspects of Greek institutional life have demonstrated the weakenss of the opposition.

The cycle of Greek political pathology (fragmentation and factionalism, *immobilisme*, breakdown of parliamentary government, shifts in loyalty, frequent government changes, military coups, etc.) has been explained in terms of several factors. Probing into Greek culture, in the anthropological meaning of the term, some have seen in the structure of interpersonal relationships at the family, clan or village levels a possible explanation for the political behavior of the Greek. It has been noted that the Greek family has been basically authoritarian, and the interpersonal relationships, hierarchical. The role of each family member is clearly specified; relationships are regulated by a series of loyalties which carry duties and obligations; and the individual exists only in so far as he is a member of a family group.[3] These cultural characteristics are said to obtain in larger social units, e.g., the clan (the larger family), the village, and the *eparchia* (province). Loyalty to one's family and family-clan (which also includes cousins, aunts, uncles) is especially noticeable when it comesto questions of protecting or defending an individual who has been accused of wrongdoing by an outsider. Members of one's group are always right and it is their duty to support others in the same group.[4] Such cultural attributes, which have been carried into urban centers, have been used to interpret politically relevant concepts.such as individualism, autonomy and authority. According to Adamantia P. Koslin, the Greek interpretation is different from that of the Western liberal democracies. She writes:

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[3] See Adamantia Pollis Koslin, "The Megale Idea-- A study of Greek Nationalism, Ph.D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1958, pp. 9ff. I am indebted to this source for most of the comments on the cultural aspects of Greek political behavior.

> The West is characterized by a sense of individual responsibility for behavior and individual determination of group membership. The emphasis on individualism, individual dignity and individual choice, unencumbered by a priori group memberships and group loyalties is totally foreign to Greek society. Individual autonomy is unknown...
>
> Obedience to any person or institution, or adherence to any law outside the recognized system of group loyalties and group memberships is rejected. An individual owes his allegiance to his family-clan and village. His laws are the laws of these groups and institutions. Government, legal law, abstract justice, all have little meaning and possess little reality for a Greek.[5]

The circumscribed network of loyalties to immediate groups has fostered separateness, disunity, and fragmentation. The traditional emphasis on individual loyalty to the family group was after independence translated into personal ties toward political figures, while the bond that existed between peasant and landlord evolved into a tie between voter and deputy once representative institutions were established. According to Keith R. Legg: "Implicit in these relationships is a quid pro quo arrangement: in the former, the peasant provided service in return for protection; in the latter, he provides a vote in return for personal favors."[6] Such a cultural pattern, which emphasizes personal relations and politician-voter ties based on the granting of favors, cannot but undermine the establishment of a stable party system and the legitimacy of political institutions and roles. Further, it undermines internal national solidarity and the very legitimacy of government operations. Writing about the period 1910-1936, Legg summarized as follows:

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[4] Ibid., p. 12.

[5] Ibid,, pp. 9, 21., Also see pp. 201ff.

[6] Keith R. Legg, "Political Recruitment and Political Crisis: The Case of Greece," Comparative Political Studies p. 529.

> Political participants, for the most part, remained rooted in subject orientation. Favors were bestowed by individuals; benefits were not occasioned by citizen status. The knowledge that general regulations could be evaded through personal relationships further undermined loyalty to national symbols or obedience to national institutions...Since individual favors were tied to the actions of specific leaders, there was a tendency to equate loyalty to individuals with loyalty to the political system itself. The legitimacy of the system--the operation of the state institutions--depended upon the good relations among the members of the political elite. Questions of legitimacy--questions about government operations--were continually raised as leaders clashed over national identity, institutional forms, foreign alignments, and above all, over control of the state machinery itself. In fact, from this third period, modern Greek history is replete with crises of legitimacy and integration stemming from personal conflict. The political system was challenged and upset, either through the clashes of major figures or through domestic military pressures. [7]

Another area that may help to understand better the Greek political culture and the many stresses of the political system is education, or paideia,[8] to use a more appropriate and inclusive term. A more detailed account of Greek education since independence and of the recent conflicts that have surrounded it is being told in the chapters that follow. Here we might point to a rather general interpretation of Greek political behavior in the context of Greek paideia.

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 550.

[8] By paideia we mean the sum total of attitudes, values, norms, ideals and orientations, consciously espoused and articulated by the modern Greeks. The closest English translation would be "culture," not in the anthropological sense.

Educational Perspectives

The educational structure and institutions, the curriculum, the values and oreintations which were sought through schools, as they emerged and were consolidated in the fifty years or so after independence (until about 1880), reflected a variety of traditions and influences. Chief among them, indeed the most distinguishing attributes of the emerging Greek paideia, were the already mentioned interrelated cultural strands, concepts, or ideologies, namely, classical Hellenism and Byzantine Orthodox Christianity. The Helleno-Christian ideal, as it is commonly known, has continued to pervade Greek thinking about education and was even incorporated in the Constitution. Article 16 of the 1952 Constitution, which was in force until the military coup of 1967, states:

> In all our elementary and secondary schools education should aim at the moral and intellectual training of youth and the development of their national consciousness according to the ideological principles of the Helleno-Christian civilization.[9]

More recently, Prime Minister Papadopoulos has often invoked the Helleno-Christian ideal as an activating force to resurrect Greece. According to him, the nation deviated from this ideal in the 1960's, it had lost its moorings and was drifting aimlessly heading for catastrophe. In order to put the country on an even keel the Helleno-Christian values and norms had to be "restored . What was needed was a return to basic principles and traditions. People's values, beliefs, and attitudes had to be re-oriented by rediscovering the essence of Greek paideia. In short, the country had to be resurrected by being "traditionally' re-educated. Papadopoulos characterized a Greek-Christian, the epitome of the educated Greek, as:

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[9] The New Constitution of Greece (1952), Article 16.

lover of fatherland (complete self-sacrifice for its sake)
lover of wisdom (philosopher)
lover of law, order, and freedom
brave, proud, hospitable, and a lover of the good
temperate, magnanimous, charitable, etc.[10]

For our purposes here what is important is how the Helleno-Christian ideal or the cluster of values under Hellenism and Christianity has found expression in educational forms and institutions and how it has been interpreted or translated into action. When one probes into these questions one is led to conclude that from its formative period Greek paideia has been largely a "closed" system entailing a set of interrelated and interlocking cultural and normative patterns. To put it differently, it has been "monolithic" and "totalitarian" (in the sense of all-inclusive), it has been a "monoculture". Schools have tended to support and reinforce such a culture, and during periods of attempted change or modernization those nurtured in the Helleno-Christian civilization acted as reactionary forces in the interplay between conservative-traditional and liberal-modernist elements.

During the formative period of Greek national development and today the cluster of values under Hellenism entailed devotion to and love of fatherland, its preservation and protection from outside dangers. Patriotism and nationalism have been an integral part of Greek citizenship, and schools as well as churches and para-ecclesiastical organizations, studiously sought to provide them. But freedom, for example, invariably has meant freedom from external subjugation, by Turks, Italians, Germans and recently communists. It did not consider the threat or suppression of political and personal liberty by internal forces. It seems that in the fight for independence and national sovereignty freedom as a personal attribute stemming from a new view of self was lost. "In Greek culture," a student of Greek politics has noted, "individual responsibility has meaning only within the context of fulfilling one's obligations and preserving one's loyalties," not responsibility for oneself to oneself.[11] In citizenship training in the schools the child is constantly reminded of his obligations and duties (love of country, obedience to laws, respect for religion and ancient monuments, military responsibilities), seldom, if at all, of his rights.

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[10] George Papadopoulos, Our Creed (Athens: 1968), Vol. II, pp. 79 ff.

Compounded with such a concept of freedom has been an "ethnocentric sense of patriotism and nationalism also inculcated in schools.

Another indication of the "illiberal" way Hellenism has been communicated has been the demand for devotion and deference to the authority of classical Hellas. The ancients have always been presented as prototypes for emulation and the schools, intellectuals, and other institutions have sought to inculcate attachment and veneration. As it is shown in Chapter III, in the mid-decades of the nineteenth century there was a strong entrenchment and institutionalization of Attic Hellas.

One, of course, could argue that studying the ancients implied inculcating values of the ancients such as "elenchos", "critical thinking", "Socratic dialogue", true philosophy and the like. These, however, have been conspicuously absent in the socialization of the modern Greek through the schools.

The same inflexibility and "closedness" is to be found with respect to the cluster of values under "Christian." The Christian ethos, which was to be imbued in children, consisted of "devotion to the divine," the Orthodox Church, love of fatherland and its leader the king, obedience to the laws and principles of the land, and so on. Since the Second World War, para-ecclesiastical organizations, such as Zōe (Life) saw to it that such values were disseminated. Zōe established a network of operations that extended even to the remotest villages, and had organized a information-ring that impregnated every aspect of government, the military, the Court, the schools, the Universities, and the local village coffee-shop.

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[11] Adamantia Pollis, "Political Implications of the Modern Greek Concept of Self," British Journal of Sociology (March, 1965), p. 33.

Given the cementing and institutional consolidation of the Helleno-Christian values, Liberals and quasi-liberals have always run against strong opposition when even modest efforts were made to change the schools or the curriculum. We discuss several such episodes in the main body of this study, the most recent being the reforms enacted by the Centrist government of George Papandreou in 1964 (Chapter VI). But even the Liberals themselves have been placed in a quandary and confronted with an insoluble and paralyzing dilemma Even a modicum of social reform was often construed as an attack against the nation and its Helleno-Christian paideia. Greek liberals themselves (e.g., Venizelos and Papandreou) were nurtured in the values they sought to change. Often, once in power, they did not act differently from others. But more fundamentally, an attack against such values raised the psychological problem of an attack against themselves. Hence at times of crisis, the usual defections form the party, the stalemates, the squabbles, and all the paraphernalia of political immobilisme.

Socio-Economic Perspectives

Greek national development and modernization in no small part have been affected by the scarcity of human and natural resources, the absence of large-scale industry, and the general structure of the Greek economy and society. Since ancient times travellers and poets have eulogized on and idealized the beauty and serentiy of the rugged Greek landscape, the blue seas and the azure skies, the bucolic life of the villagers with their wooden ploughs and primitive threshing floors, the shepherds, the fishermen, and the peasant women spinning their distaffs or working on their looms. Such aspects of the Greek life and landscape may have inspired romantic vi visitors but they have hardly contributed to the development of a strong economy.

More than 75 per cent of the total area of the Greek peninsula (51,246 square miles) is covered by forests, mountains, eroded ravines, or is barren. Arable land is not plentiful (only about 26.4 per cent of the total surface is cultivated), and is to be found mostly in the plains of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. The country is not blessed with many natural resources; it has no coal or oil deposits, only lignites. Its principal minerals are magnesium, carbonate, chrome ore, iron pyrites, and bauxite (aluminum ore). Of these, bauxite and magnesium are the most plentiful and in 1970 accounted for 67 per cent of the value of mineral and ore exports.

Much of the country's subsistence has always depended on agriculture, forests, and fisheries. Agricultural products include wheat, barley-oats, sugar beet, alfalfa, vines, currants, tobacco, olives, and cotton. According to the government statistics for 1972, agriculture accounted for 17 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and yet engaged 41.7 per cent of the economically active population. (In 1965, agriculture provided 27 percent of GNP and supported 53 per cent of the total population). What has generally been recognized as a structural factor hindering rapid development in this sector is the fragmentation of land holdings. This is rendered more acute by the dowry system and the existence of traditional laws of inheritance which lead into further subdivision of farm land into small and scattered plots. Such fragmentation is more prevalent in Crete where it has been estimated that it takes a Cretan farmer an average of ten minutes to walk to his nearest plot and ninety minutes to his farthest. Greece, according to Brian Dicks, "has the lowest agricultural land per capita values in the Balkans."[12]

Other factors limiting agricultural productivity have been soil erosion, shortage of water, poor and exhausted soil, low level of technology, and, in the words of a recent government document, the low educational level (general and technical) of the Greek farmer.[13] In 1965, only 14.5 per cent of the cultivated land was irrigated. This marked a substantial improvement compared to the 1958 ststistics (about 10.2 per cent). Even so, the water potential of the country is sufficient for only 45 per cent of the present cultivated area. Soil erosion has been partly perpetuated and intensified by the many goats and sheep that are allowed to graze freely on the land.

All post-Second World War governments have recognized the problems of Greek agriculture and have sought to improve the overall agricultural output, often linking this with improvements in education.[14] Changes have been made in the institutional and organizational bases of farming (better use of fertilizers, modernization of cooperatives and methods of farming, programs of research and education, regional development schemes, etc.) and, despite the persistence of certain problems, substantial improvements have been recorded. For example, output in wheat increased from 1,515,000 tons in 1968 to 1,969,000 tons in 1972. Yet agriculture has gradually been losing ground to other sectors of the economy and its share in the formation of the Gross National Product (GNP) has been steadily declining compared to substantial increases in the industrial sector and in the services.[15]

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[12] Brian Dicks, The Greeks: How They Live and Work (Newton Abbot, Devon.: David & Charles, 1972), p. 96.

[13] Center for Planning and Economic Research, Plan for the Long-Range Development of Greece (Athens: August, 1972), Part B, p. 24.

[14] For the agricultural policy of the present government, see Ibid., pp. 23ff.

Until recently Greek industrial development was rather negligible. Until 1930, the Greek economy was based predominantly on agriculture and commerce. Between 1911 and 1930 manufacturing contributed no more than 10 per cent of the total national income, and it did not occupy more than 14 per cent of the country's total labor force. Moreover, "industrial activity was concentrated primarily in light consumer good industries.'[16] As late as 1954, food, beverages, tobacco, clothing and footwear accounted for 62.5 per cent of the total manufacturing product. If one added wood products, furniture, chemicals and basic metal and metal working industries, the percentage would rise to 80.5. In 1961, the manufacturing industry contributed no more than 18 percent of GDP, compared to 30-35 per cent for such industrial nations as England, U.S.A., Belgium, Denmark and Italy, and occupied only 13 per cent of the total labor force. And as regards the total value of the country's exports, manufactured goods contributed only 3.4 per cent in 1963, and 11.6 per cent in 1966.

One of the reasons for the relative underdevelopment of Greek industry was its deficient structure. It was characterized by an inordinately large number of manufacturing units belonging to an equally large number of business firms. In 1958, for example, there were 109,236 units (including organized artisan workshops) belonging to 104,824 business firms. Added to this was another structural weakness, namely, that the major part of the manufacturing activity was carried out by small-scale establishments, in terms of persons employed. In 1930, 93 per cent of the establishments employed up to 5 persons, a situation which by 1958 had not substantially changed. (In that year the percentage was still 85).

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[15] Dicks. op.cit., p. 98.

[16] George Coutsoumaris, The Morphology of Greek Industry (Athens: Center of Economic Research, 1963), p. 21.

A factor that has been found to contribute to industry's productive efficiency is the composition of the labor force. In this connection, Coutsoumaris, in 1963, observed that "the educational level of the Greek manufacturing force is relatively low, even among major establishments," and that in certain industrial groups there was a relatively high percentage of apprentices.[17] The same writer also noted that the majority of the firms used inferior methods of production and that "technological inefficiencies are omnipresent independently of firm size."[18]

More so than in the case of agriculture, the past decade has witnessed considerable improvement and expansion in the industrial sector. Both quantitative and qualitative improvements have been noted. The average annual growth rate of industrial production during the 1958-72 period was 9.6 per cent; in 1971, industrial output contributed 32.0 per cent of the Gross National Product; and in 1971, industrial exports accounted for 42.2 per cent of the value of total exports compared to 15 per cent in 1961. This was partly due to the construction of industrial complexes such as Esso-Pappas and Péchiney which have added new exports of aluminum, nickel, iron products and liquid fuel. Yet the great majority of manufacturing units remain as small family businesses; and in 1971, still only 16 per cent of the economically active population was engaged in the "secondary sector." Even the rather optimistic government sources point to needed fundamental changes in the economic structure and in the development of human resources if the growth goals are to be accomplished.

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 308.

Educational Implications

Since the 1950's, Greek governments have stressed the significance of education for economic development and the need for educational change to boost industrial growth and to help bring about the socio-economic transformation of the country. The two major educational reform episodes--in 1959 under the Rightist (ERE) government of Constantine Karamanlēs and in 1964-65 under the Centrist (EK) government of George Papandreou--sought, among other things, to expand educational opportunities, modernize the structure and content of the system, and strengthen technical and vocational education. It was believed that such changes would make the educational system more efficient and would provide the necessary skills and manpower for rapid industrialization and economic growth. Similar views on the economic aspects of schooling were expressed in reports by foreign experts (e.g., Lionel Elvin of the University of London Institute of Education), by the Committee on Education in 1957-58, and by the O.E.C.D. Mediterranean Regional Project (1965), in the writings of leading educational reformers (e.g., E.P. Papanoutsos), and in the plans for economic development. The most recent such plan (1972) noted that despite the growth of general and technical education in the last ten years (1961-1971), the structure and quality of the Greek labor force la[illegible] substantially behind that of developed countries. Among the several reasons for this phenomenon was the absence of vocational guidance and the fact that youth turned away from technical and vocational training. The plan, accordingly, called for (a) the modernization of the educational process and programs, (b) the extension of free education, (c) the coordination of vocational with general (humanistic) education, and (d) the channeling of students into technical and scientific branches. Priority, according to the plan, should be given to the development of the "human factor."[19]

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[19] Plan for the Long-Range Development of Greece, op.cit., pp. 90ff., 195,

The techno-economic ramifications of schooling has been the most noticeable novelty in Greek educational thinking in the post-Second World War years, and a more detailed discussion will be found in Chapters V and VI of this report. It will suffice to mention here that when the reformers, planners, and critics referred to the improvement of the educational system so that it would meet contemporary techno-economic needs or that economic development required changes in education, they invariably stressed technical and vocational schooling. The argument has been that the demands of a growing economy require the application of technological skills and that such skills are best developed in formal technical and vocational institutions. While the first part of this argument may be true, the second is open to serious doubts. To answer this, information is needed on a host of relevant questions: Are technical skills or competencies for industrial growth indeed developed in formal institutional settings? Are the facilities and environment conducive to skill development better provided in schools or by industry and by "on the job training?" To what extent is formal technical training accepted and actually utilized by employers? Would the people who go through technical schools actually seek careers based on their training? Would, for example, graduates of middle-level technical schools seek employment as middle-level technicians? Is the structure of incentives (wages, conditions of work, prestige, etc.) such that technically trained individuals would be attracted to jobs commensurate with their training, or would they go to such schools because they were the only ones available within their reach, and once they finished they would seek another job that had no relation to what they were trained for? What light does the past experience of Greece throw on these questions? None of the proposals, statements or plans addressed themselves to such questions of the education-development problem. In all the plans global estimates of manpower requirements were made based on the questionable assumption that schools and individuals are going to behave according to certain prescribed patterns.

In addition, as noted earlier, it could be said that in Greece there is a strong entrenchment of certain educational institutions and patterns of thought which are not conducive to anticipated development goals. Modern Greek paideia, as will be demonstrated later in this report, has remained essentially "humanistic' in its orientation, with major emphasis given to classical-literary studies. Technical and practical education has not received comparable attention and, despite references to the importance of the technological civilization, Greek intellectuals, pedagogues and policy-makers have reacted violently against any efforts to curtail the classical-humanistic-literary component of the curriculum. Classical humanism allied with Orthodox Christianity became entrenched in the University of Athens, which, through its School of Philosophy has exerted a determining influence in educational policy and practice.

Social and Demographic Perspectives

Observers and students of Greek society have often commented that there is no hereditary aristocracy in Greece of the type encountered in other European countries, that many of the leaders in politics, industry, commerce, administration and the professions come from humble origins, and that the boundaries between social classes are relatively easy to cross. One Greek writer characterized Greek society as "continuous, integrated and dynamic." She wrote:

> Nobility is not recognized, and a slave is free upon entering the Greek borders. There are no problems of racial and religious discrimination. There are no marked boundaries between proletariat and bourgeoisie nor between "masses" and "leadership." The members of the government, parliament, public administration, the army, the church, and the universities come from every social bracket and very often from poor and peasant families. As the country and her industry are young, the doors are opening, less in the upper brackets and more in the lower, but moving quickly enough to keep social unity by mobility.[20]

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[20] K.D. Antonakaki, Greek Education: Reorganication of the Administrative Structure, (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955), p. 109.

Alec P. Alexander, an American economist, who studied the background of Greek industrialists, commented that Greece was free from feudal-aristocratic survivals which have been found to inhibit the growth of entrepreneurship in other countries. Instead, society in Greece "is largely a blend of bourgeois and peasant elements, there are no sharp lines of demarcation between classes and there is a considerable degree of social mobility." He noted that the upper classes do not constitute a homogenous group held together by "class origin, tradition or education," while the line that separates the middle classes from the bulk of the urban population (e.g., white collar workers, small merchants and shopkeepers, craftsmen and skilled workers) is "indefinable." Referring to his study of industrialists, Alexander found that "the fathers of about 40 per cent ...were of such 'lower' class origins as craftsmen, farmers or shopkeepers." Further, "one in five among native born industrialists, was born in a community with a population of fewer than 2,000 inhabitants," which meant that such communities were generally rural and very poor, and "a high proportion of Greek industrialists is self-made."[21]

Similar characteristics, e.g., absence of a hereditary aristocracy and class rigidities, and mobility, have been observed to exist in rural communities as well.[22]

These descriptions and characterizations are based for the most part on impressions and anecdotal evidence. Sociological and anthropological research in Greece has been rather scanty and the structure of Greek society is a relatively unexplored subject. Based on equally impressionistic and anecdotal observations one could draw a somewhat different picture.

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[21] Alexander, op.cit., pp. 77-80.

[22] See, for example, Irwin T. Sanders, Rainbow in the Rock: The People of Rural Greece, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 280-281.

It is true that with the War of Independence the granting of titles was proscribed and any vestiges of Ottoman feudalism disappeared. The new Greek "aristocracy" in the emerging state consisted of prominent war heroes who had been granted land, a few merchants and ship owners, and government officials and administrators. In the course of the nineteenth century, and with the acquisition of new lands, a small "landed aristocracy" emerged. But the "bourgeois revolution" of 1909 (the Goudi) and the land reforms in the 1920's put an end to any incipient Greek "aristocracy," while successive military interventions had the unanticipated consequence of curtailing the growing political and economic power of certain individuals and families. Nevertheless, as in most countries, a class structure has always existed in Greece, there have been wide economic gaps among occupational groups, great disparities have existed between the urban and rural populations, and with such gaps and disparities have gone educational inequality, power, prestige and exploitation. With the establishment of industrial complexes recently, one can even say that Greece has its "captains of industry." And one should not ignore the wealthy Greek shipping magnates.

The economic and cultural disparities between the rural and urban areas, particularly the greater Athens and the Salonica regions, have been subjects of frequent discussion and study by travelers, economic observers, and other writers. The greater Athens area alone, which includes about 29 per cent (2,540,000 in 1971) of the entire Greek population (8,769,000 in 1971), literally dominates the economic, political, cultural, and intellectual life of Greece. John Campbell and Philip Sherrard observed that "Greece is dominated, even paralysed, by the influence and attraction of its capital city, which is at once political, commercial and demographic."[23] In the early 1960's, Athens dominated every branch of economic activity "not only in comparison to any one of the regions, but in relationship to the aggregate of all regions taken in sum."[24] Comparing the standard of living in Athens and in village communities, Andreas Papandreou had this to say:

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[23] John Campbell and Philip Sherrard, Modern Greece (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1968), p.

> The per capita income of Athens is probably 5 times the per capita income of mountain communities. Thus, while Athens enjoys a standard of living comparable, say, to that of Italy, the standard of living of mountain communities is closer to that of Asian countries. Such evidence as is available on personal distribution points to a highly skewed income distribution.

Even with an annual economic growth rate of 6.3 per cent from the mid-1950's into the 1960's, income inequalities among regions and classes increased. According to Papandreou·

> ....income inequality both in respect to regions and in respect to income classes increased. In a very real sense, the fruits of the economic growth went to the few. Athens became relatively richer, while the rest of Greece became relatively poorer--and this is especially true of the farmer whose lot, in some instances, worsened not only relatively but absolutely.[25]

Since the time Papandreou wrote, Salonica grew to be a major industrial center. Today Athens and Salonica, whose population was 557,000 inhabitants in 1970, virtually control all activities in Greece.

Rural Greece is quite different from the urban regions. Until quite recently (1951) the majority of the Greek population (about 58 per cent) lived in villages and towns of less than 5,000 inhabitants, and about 45 per cent in villages of less than 2,000 inhabitants. Even today, over 40 per cent of the population lives in small rural communities.

The poverty of some of the rural regions in the southern Peloponnese, in Epirus, and in some of the islands, e.g., in Crete, is proverbial. And so are the cultural characteristics of what the urban dwellers often derogatorily refer as _eparchiotes_ (provincials) or _choriates_ (villagers). The contrast between the style of life, the economic conditions, education, power, etc., of the Greek peasant and the dweller of the _Kolonaki_ section in Athens is well-known even to tourists. And contrary to commonly-held views, a Greek village, as Sanders writes, has a rich "social texture," a "status system," with the village notables, e.g., the community president, the teacher, the doctor, and the priest, constituting the "elite," and a class structure.[26]

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[24] For details see Denny Stavros, "Educational Aspirations and Expectations of Fourth Year Students in Ten Greater Athens Gymnasia: A Study of the Relationship of Socio-Economic Status and Several Intervening Variables to Projected Educational Attainments," Ph.D. Dissertation, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, 1971, pp. 52ff.

[25] Quoted from Stavros, op.cit., p. 52.

With regional, economic, and class disparities one also observes educational imbalances, a theme which is more fully developed later in this report. Compared to the ten major regions into which Greece is divided in the Census reports, the greater Athens region has the lowest rate of illiteracy (7.5 per cent in 1971, compared to about 27 per cent in Thrace and 14.2 per cent of the national total), and the highest proportion of people -- 10 years of age and over who completed secondary and higher education.[27] As to socio-economic opportunities, 25.9 per cent of students enrolled in higher educational institutions in 1969-70 came from the professional, technical, managerial, executive, etc., and clerical occupational groups, which constituted about 13 per cent of the economically active male population.

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[26] Sanders, _Op. Cit._, pp. 275-281.

[27] Computed from: National Statistical Service of Greece, _Results of the Population and Housing Census_, 1971. Sample Elaboration, Vol. I, (Athens, 1973).

CHAPTER II

INDEPENDENCE, CONSOLIDATION OF THE GREEK STATE, AND EDUCATION

The War of Independence against the Ottomans in 1821-1829 signified more than just a political event--the establishment of a separate and independent state--or a Greece for the Greeks. It also signified the "rebirth," "resurrection," "revival," or "rejuvenation" of the Greek nation and culture which were traced to ancient Hellas and medieval Byzantium, and whose continuity was interrupted by the Ottoman conquerors. Modernity in the new state, therefore, in large part connoted the revival of older cultural values, attitudes, and states of mind, particularly in education.

The character of the Greek cultural revival, which gave impetus to the revolutionary movement and colored the post-independence period, reflected a concatenation of internal and external influences. In the course of Ottoman rule (1453-1821) Greek culture was predominantly defined in terms of the Orthodox Christian values, and was marked by skepticism, if not outright hostility, to Western European currents of thought. Beginning with approximately the mid-eighteenth century, certain socio-economic, political, and intellectual factors in Greece proper and in Europe, challenged the relatively "static" condition of the Orthodox Greeks and fostered what has been called a "Neo-hellenic Enlightenment." This was a blend of Orthodox Christianity, a reconstructed classical hellenism, and European Enlightenment, and the French revolutionary ideology. Any analysis of Greek modernization must begin with an examination of this pre-revolutionary cultural revival.

The Challenge of Modernity: Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment and Revival

Alfred North Whitehead has remarked that "in the eighteenth century France carried the 'White Man's Burden' of intellectual advance."[1] Among the outside influences on the content of the Greek national renaissance that of France was the most pervasive and far-reaching. The "agents" of the Franco-Greek contacts were Greek emigrés residing in France, merchants and travellers of both societies, and Greek intelligentsia (Phanariotes and higher clergy) in Constantinople and other territories of the Ottoman Empire, and French intellectuals.

The Franks, being unable to penetrate the East by direct attack in earlier periods, sought an "ideological infiltration" into the more advanced Ottoman communities. The French "ideologie" contained the principles of liberty, virtue, patriotism, and love of fatherland, and attacks on tyranny, despotism and the suppression of man. The Ottoman was the epitome of misrule and tyranny. But related to the broader "ideologie" was the French revival of a romantic classicism, which was potent among the Greeks. Particularly in the hands of translators, the ideas of justice, liberty, partiotism, and the like were often interwoven with classical Greek parallels. For example, Frenchmen and Greeks singled out such writings as Fenelon's Les Aventures de Télémaque and Barthelemy's Anacharsis to bolster their ideology of justice, liberty, and tyranny, and to arouse a Greek feeling of identity with the classical "ancestors," as well as a sense of cultural and ethnic continuity. Translations of French works were made mostly by Greek liberal intellectuals. But they were supported and often spearheaded by the French themselves. The French, in addition, donated Greek printing presses and French books.

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[1] A. A. Whitehead, Adventures of Ideas (London: 1948), pp. 40-41.

Intimately connected with the French intellectual donors, were Greeks who were completely absorbed by the French spirit of the Enlightenment, the French revolutionary ideology, and the French-colored romantic hellenism. Two outstanding examples of Greek intellectuals residing abroad were Adamantios Koraēs and Rhigas Pheraios. Koraēs was in the best tradition of the French "philosophes": rabidly democratic ("like his ancestors," as he himself said), a passionate devotee of the power of education and the written word, and a great believer in progress and the perfectibility of man. Like the French romanticists, Koraes sought to create a sense of cultural continuity and national identity among the Greeks. He reminded the Greeks that they were heirs to the illustrious ancients, extolled them to recapture the spirit of their forefathers, and urged them to overthrow tyranny and establish a modern state similar to the Republique Française. In his many writings, French and Greek, he constantly talked about the "renascence of the nation." This he sought to inspire through the purification and elevation of the Greek language as a common vehicle of communication and as a connecting link between ancient and modern Greek. He edited classical Greek texts with "didactic" introductions in which he urged the Greeks to pay more attention to education and language; and he sent books, mostly French, to all parts of the Greek world.

Pheraios, who lived in Vienna, was more of a revolutionary activist. He translated French writers; and penned the fiery and revolutionary "War Song," paraphrased by Lord Byron as "Sons of Greece Arise." This Greek version of the "Marseillaise" and other patriotic songs by Pheraios were smuggled into Greece and became household songs. But Pheraios also organized or participated in revolutionary cells whose aim was to overthrow Ottoman rule. He died violently in the hands of the Turks in Belgrade in 1796.

The intellectual and revolutionary activities of overseas Greeks were not limited to France or to Greeks directly influenced by the French. One such example was John Kapodistrias who later became the first Governor of independent Greece. Kapodistrias was a diplomat and an educational statesman. Born on the Ionian island of Corfu, he rose to high position--foreign minister--in the service of Czar Alexander of Russia. During his diplomatic missions and after, he travelled extensively in European capitals. Before becoming the head of the new Greek state, he served as Secretary of the Ionian short-lived Septinsular Republic and as General Director of Schools. He was instrumental in the establishment of the Association of the Lovers of the Muses in 1813. The purpose of this organization, whose members included eminent Greeks and Philhellenes from all over Europe, was the promotion of the "sciences," particularly of Greek philology and literature, the publication of ancient Greek texts, and the support of promising but poor Greek youths for higher studies in Greece and abroad. Although ostensibly an intellectual enterprise performing the functions of an institution of higher learning, the Association was clearly part of the general movement of national enlightenment ultimately leading toward national independence.

In line with the general tenor of the times, Kapodistrias placed high value upon education as an instrument of moral and political uplifting and progress. "The spread of education and the acquisition of freedom," according to his biographer, "constitute for Kapodistrias two coextensive meanings."[2] Kapodistrias was also impressed by the ideas and methods of Pestalozzi as developed by de Fellenberg in Switzerland, and by the monitorial system of instruction of Joseph Lancaster, which he introduced into the Ionian Islands and later into free Greece.

Finally, Kapodistrias' conception of educational values is particularly relevant in view of his role in the building of the new nation. For Kapodistrias education and religion were inseparable, a view which he sought to implement when he assumed the reigns of government. One indication of this was that the newly created Ministry of Public Education included the administration of religious affairs as well. During the War of Independence the position of the Church had considerably diminished; and both Koraēs and Pheraios were not particularly impressed by the previous record of the Church, nor by its liberalism or intellectual vitality. In contrast, Kapodistrias sought to restore its position. Fundamentally he believed that good education must be based on the ethical principles and spiritual values of Christianity. Hence he labored to improve the education of priests and to put within the reach of every person "the book of prayer called the Synopsis, modifying it in such a way that everyone, in praying to God, knows and understands what he is saying, and in that way he will also become accustomed to read and speak his native tongue correctly."[3]

The introduction of such outside elements into Greece was facilitated by several local circumstances. In the first place, it was quite clear that Ottoman power over the Greek provinces was considerably weakened, particularly in the Peloponnese and Epirus. Close vigilance over what was openly brought in or smuggled was difficult to maintain. The sultans were harrassed both by the European powers, especially Russia, by powerful provincial governors, and by local insurrectionist plots. Secondly, the socio-economic picture of Greeee underwent a noticeable transformation. Villages, cities, and ports witnessed an unprecedented economic and commercial vitality. Villages in Thessaly (e.g., Ambelakia), and in the Volos and Zagori regions prospered in local manufacturing, and became commercial thoroughfares between Greece and Germany, Venice, Constantinople, and even Moscow. The volume of shipping in Salonika and the islands of Hydra and Spetsai increased considerably. After the French Revolution, the Greek merchant marine became the commercial carriers of most shipping in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

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[2] Helen E. Koukkos, Ho Kapodistrias kai hē Paideia, 1803-1822, (Athens, 1958), p. 32.

[3] Quoted from William Kaldis, John Kapodistrias and the Modern Greek State, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1959, p. 175.

The internal weakening of the administration and the rise of commercial activity affected the traditional socio-economic structure of the Greek ethnic community (the Greek Orthodox millet). The clerical hierarchy around the Patriarch and the Phanariote aristocracy continued to occupy a high position in the general social and power structure. But a new "middle" class of prosperous and cosmopolitan merchants was taking shape. Some of these people were no longer satisfied with the traditional type of instruction in grammar, rhetoric, and dogma provided in most of the local schools.

A third propitious factor in this interchange between Greece and Western Europe was a marked increase in the number of schools, particularly in the economically and commercially active cities, towns, and villages. This "educational awakening" was evident on the Greek mainland, Constantinople, Anatolia and other Ottoman territories, as well as in Greek communities.

The intelligentsia were all caught in the spirit of post-revolutionary France and the romantic hellenism discussed above. Many Greeks began learning French, especially in the academies of the Danubian principalities, of Jannina, Constantinople, Kydonies, and Athens; and there were translations of foreign books (particularly French), most of which were of a revolutionary nature. It is interesting to point out that among the foreign books translated there were books on physics, chemistry, mathematics, and astronomy as well. Greeks also subscribed to many foreign journals. A devotion to hellenism accompanied such intellectual revival. Ancient Greek names were bestowed on children at their christening and on newly launched ships; students at Kydonies stopped using the "romaic" language, and spoke ancient Greek instead; and when Napoleon landed at Corfu, the local bishop presented him with a copy of Homer's Odyssey as a reminder of the mythical ancestry of the people.[4]

The reception of ideas from the outside was not, however, of a uniform nature. And here is where the position of the Church and the traditional aristocracy was important. Since the famous schism of 1054, the Greek Church nurtured an antipathy toward the "heretical" West, and as late as 1815, there were references to "those Frankish dogs." The liberalism of the French Revolution was not particularly welcomed by the Church, as exemplified by the appointment of Gregory V, a known anti-Westerner, as patriarch in 1797. In his "Patrikē Didaskalia" Gregory argued that the new idea of liberty was the work of the devil. Yet even the official position of the Church, let alone that of individuals among the higher clergy, was not always consistently reactionary. While maintaining that it was harmful to read and translate Western religious, liberal, and philosophical tracts, or even the works of the classical pagans, they tolerated Voltaire, and accepted Buffon's book on botany as well as translations of Plato. More often than not, however, the Church was conservative. Indeed the Patriarch later renounced the revolution, although this did not save him from the Turkish wrath. Despite ambivalences, the Phanariote aristocracy in the outer regions of the Ottoman Empire were among the first agents in the cultural communication between the Greeks and the West, and the consequent Greek revival. Many of the centers of Greek learning were on the outskirts of Greece proper (the Danubian principalities, in particular) where the Phanariote princes were supreme. Some of the first Greek printing presses were established at Iassy and Bucharest, and the first Greco-Franco-Italian dictionary was compiled at the instigation of the Phanariote Prince Alexander Mavrogordatos. Liberal Greek intellectuals took refuge in the courts of the Phanariote princes. The Phanariote aristocrats in Constantinople reflected the inconsistent position of the hierarchy of the partiarchate. Some of them, in fact, were urging the patriarch to excommunicate the leaders of the secret revolutionary society known as Philikē Hetaireia.

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[4] For many of the details on the romantic neo-hellenism, I am indebted to the excellent study by S. A. Sophroniou, French Influence on Greek Poetry in 1857-1912, Master's Thesis, University of London, 1957.

In broad outline, such was the nature and scope of the neo-hellenic social and cultural awakening in the half-century or so preceding the decisive event of the Greek Revolution. Underlying the inconsistencies, paradoxes, and conflicts of this national rejuvenation there appeared to be consensus on one major objective: independence from the Ottomans. The movement for independence was further reinforced by the power scramble among the major powers. In the face of Ottoman decay and the possible disintegration of the Empire, Russia, in particular, wanted to have the lion's share of the spoils. National independence movements were aided and abetted, and Russia assumed the protector's role of the downtrodden Greek correligionists. She provided refuge for Greek emigrés; it was through Catherine the Great's encouragement and military support that the first abortive uprising of 1770 took place; and it was in Odessa that the effective secret revolutionary society--the Philikē Hetaireia--was first organized in 1841 1814. The first signal for a national resurrection came from Prince Ypsilanti, another of the "northern" princes. More successful, however, was the uprising in the Morea in the South.

Independence and Kapodistrias

The call for independence was sounded in 1821 and the revolutionary war lasted until 1829. In the meantime, while the war was being waged, a political pattern began to emerge, which was influenced by the involvement of the major European powers. Simply stated, a power struggle revolved around three major groups: Francophiles, Anglophiles, and Russophiles. Each of these groups drew support from the several elite and middle strata of the society. The English "party" headed by Alexander Mavrocordatos was supported by the Greek shipowners; the "Friends of France," led by John Kolettis, represented the interests of the "upper middle" strata and the various chieftains of the revolution; and the chief supporters of the Russian "party" included large estate holders, partician families, and the Church. Two of the most prominent leaders of this "party" were Theodore Kolokotronis, the revolutionary leader, and Andreas Metaxas.

The Third National Assembly of 1827 elected John Kapodistrias as the first governor of Greece, thus temporarily at least, giving the Russophiles the upper hand. The first government of free Greece, therefore, took the shape of a republic; and, paradoxically, it was supported by people who admired the Imperial court of Russia.

As noted earlier in this chapter, Kapodistrias had an abiding faith in the value of education and was quite well-acquainted with contemporary pedagogical movements. Specifically he emphasized the spread of basic elementary schooling, and within a few months after his landing at Nauplion, over twenty primary schools were added to the existing ones. Kapodistrias must also be credited with the introduction into the Greek state system of the Lancasterian method of instruction, a feature that continued well into the nineteenth century. His purpose was ultimately to establish elementary schools in every province and village. As to more advanced instruction, his avowed policy was stated as follows:

> When this basis for national regeneration has been solidly established, the government, without delay, will institute central schools in the different provinces of the nation, where pupils leaving the schools of mutual instruction can receive a higher education in the letters, sciences, and the arts.[5]

Kapodistrias' conception of the nature of education, particularly its relation to religion, was discussed earlier. It should be added that the curriculum of the primary schools and the few existing "Greek schools" included reading, writing, arithmetic, religion, modern Greek, ancient Greek, ancient history, geometry and Geography. French, Italian, English and Latin were taught in some schools, while more advanced students were also exposed to physics, metaphysics, and chemistry.

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[5] Kaldis, op. cit., p. 173.

Kapodistrias' administration did not last long, and thus it is difficult to say more as to whether he would have translated his aims and intentions into practice.[6] While he was still in power the Congress of Vienna decided to install a radically different form of government, a monarchy. This course was supported by both the Francophiles and the Anglophiles. After searching for a monarch in the courts of Europe the lot fell on young Otto of Bavaria. Kapodistrias was assassinated in 1831, and in 1833 Otto, still under age, landed in Greece. Thus another external factor, the German, entered Greek national development. For all practical purposes the story of modern Greece as a nation-state begins with the monarchy of Otto established at this time. Significantly also, during the half century or so after 1833, the structure of modern Greek institutions as well as the modern cultural outlook of the Greeks in large part was consolidated.

Institutional Consolidation

The Monarchy

Perhaps the most important aspect of the institutional structure of the new state was the monarchy. The powers assumed by the king were enormous; and until 1843, Otto, advised mainly by Bavarians and supported by Bavarian troops, ruled absolutely. A power struggle between the Bavarians and Greeks resulted in the victory of the latter, and in 1843 Otto was forced to accept a constitution. By then most Bavarian advisers and administrators had left, except for a few servants personally belonging to the King. But conflicts continued and in 1862 King Otto was dethroned and forced into exile. Voluntarily this time, the Greek leaders opted for the continuation of the monarchical form of government, and accepted as their new king another foreign prince, George of the House of Glucksburg. A new constitution was soon ratified. But for a republican interregnum in the 1920's and 1930's, the government of Greece since then has remained a constitutional monarchy.

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[6] Kapodistrias' administration, as well as his role in education, continue to be a subject of intense controversy. George Finlay, the most famous historian of modern Greece is devastatingly critical. See George Finlay, A History of Greece: From its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time, B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1877), Vol. VII, pp. 48-49. A recent Greek student of the Governor is more complimentary. See Helen E. Koukkos, Joannēs Kapodistrias: Ho Anthrōpos--Ho Agōnistēs (Athens, 1962), p. 52.

The "Georgian Constitution" continued to grant the King considerable power: he was declared "irresponsible;" he could appoint and dismiss his ministers, and all officers and officials; and he could suspend or prorogue Parliament. Such powers were indeed exercised by King George on several occasions: for example, in 1866 when Parliament was promptly dissolved, and in 1892, when the king dismissed M. Deliyiannis, whom, according to a foreign source, he found "obstinate in his financial dilatoriness."[7]

From the orientation of this study it is important to point out that within a few decades of its existence, the monarchy consolidated itself. It was invested not only with considerable constitutional power but it emerged as a major regulator of political life and an arbiter of national culture. Otto's foreign extraction and the fact that he was a Roman Catholic in an essentially Greek Orthodox state were a source of friction and criticism. But this was more than offset by a broader acceptance that the King represented the new state, provided stability, and acted in its best interests. Influential families, particularly those Phanariotes who emigrated from Constantinople to Athens, lent support to the monarchy; these and others sought royal favor. Under a sort of spoils system the king was able to dispense favors to potential supporters or withdraw them to any that posed a threat. Symbolically and in actual practice the king and queen were the patrons of the arts and of several literary and social welfare societies. Although still a controversial question, many ascribe the foundation of the University of Athens--at the time called the Othonian University--to Otto's initiative. Not least among the factors which helped in the rooting of the monarchy on the Greek soil in these crucial early years, was Otto's forceful, active, "intriguing," and personally striking queen, Amalia.

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[7] R.A.H. Bickford-Smith, Greece Under King George (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1893), p. 263.

The position of the monarchy was directly or tacitly strengthened by the nature of recruitment into the civil bureaucracy, by a precarious system of political office-holding, by the Church, and by the attitude which the Greeks were already displaying toward political leaders. Recruitment into the various levels of the bureaucracy rested on a "spoils system;" ministers made clean sweeps of subordinates at every change of government. The position of the ministers themselves rested largely with the king. Moreover, they did everything to maintain themselves in power. A contemporary observer summarized the whole matter as follows:

> Every minister is ready to do anything for the sake of keeping his place...They know that their position is precarious, that no ministry had lasted...They only think, therefore, of keeping in their places, and of making the best of their temporary tenure of State affairs...the king never finds any resistance either in his ministers or in any of the other officials. All feel themselves to be either in fault, or at least incapable; they know that their fortune holds by a thread, and that even if they had more talent and honesty, the ill-humor of the King, or the caprice of the Queen, might overthrow

> them: experience has taught them that the only virtue prized at Court is obedience; and they obey.[8]

Religion and the Church

The outstanding characteristic of the new position of the Greek church was its virtual independence from the patriarchate of Constantinople and its establishment as a state church. Henceforth it was centrally administered by a five-member holy synod. The relationship between king and church was underscored by the royal prerogative to name a royal commissioner to the synod, who acted as a sort of supervisor of the ecclesiastical affairs and always countersigned ecclesiastical acts and decisions. The oath taken by the members of the synod illustrates the close relationship between church and crown:

> Majesty, upon the sacred character with which we are invested, we certify that, ever faithful to your Majesty, our king and our master, submissive to the constitution and the laws of the country, we will not cease to apply all our efforts to accomplish, with the aid of God, our duty in the administration of the Church, preserving intact, like all the other orthodox churches of Christ, the holy apostolical and synodical canons, as well as the holy traditions. As witness of this oath, we invoke the All-powerful. May He grant to your Majesty long days and perfect health, maintain your kingdom unshaken, render it prosperous, aggrandize it, and fortify it for all ages.[9]

By constitutional provision, Orthodoxy was established as the state religion, and proselytism was forbidden. At the same time, however, other recognized religions were "tolerated." This alluded mainly to Moslems, Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, all of whom were not considered to be ethnically Greeks. Greeks were almost entirely Christian Orthodox and constituted by far the largest ethnic group in the country.

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[8] Edmond About (Francois Valentin), Greece and the Greeks of the Present Day (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable & Co., 1855), pp. 150-151.

[9] Quoted in About, op. cit., p. 184.

As expected, the introduction of a "lay" governmental structure (monarchy, parliament, etc.) restricted the previous political authority of the Church. Further, the re-organization of the school system (discussed below), considerably restricted the power of the church over a vital social and cultural activity. But religion as a body of doctrines and beliefs, and as an organized social institution--the Church--continued to be a most vital element in the new nation-state. Priests, bishops, and archbishops, were generally held in reverence, particularly among the ordinary folk. In the ordinary village the priest was the unofficial community head, while the bishops were the unofficial heads of the areas in their sees. Priestly power was enmeshed in superstition and folklore. Among the God-fearing peasant folk a priest's prayer was believed to cure the sick, avert epidemics, and terminate draughts.[10] Moreover, local priests or bishops were by law included in provincial or municipal bodies.

Religion and the Church were particularly important in the field of education and the general cultural orientation of the people. Religious instruction and other religious exercises (for example, church attendance on Sundays and holidays) were compulsory for all school children. Religious "toleration" as a constitutional principle was considerably circumscribed by the prohibition of proselytism and by reactions against foreign missionary schools. The role of the church had even wider ramifications. Although not directly involved in the formulation of social policy, the Church provided ideological and cultural support for the evolving institutions and policy orientations. The Church did not relinquish its traditional function of articulating and guarding the cultural ethos of the nation, or the ideals, values, and aspirations of the common Greek. It was the Bishop of Patras thet signalled the uprising in the Morea in 1821; and priests fought in the Revolution literally with guns and figuratively with icons and prayers. The ideology of an expanded Greek State -- the Grand Idea -- which pervaded Greek national life down to the first decades of the twentieth century, was in part fanned by many clergymen who continued to look toward Russian help to reestablish the older Christian Byzantine Empire. To the Church, faith (*pistis*), nationalism (ethnikismos), hellenism (*Hellēnismos*), and education (*paideia*) were inextricably interwined. In the language policy (to be discussed below) the Church supported the *purists*, a policy generally favored by the Crown and the more "conservative" elements of the society. Western intellectual currents continued to be held suspect, as was too much of secular learning. "Young priests," a visitor was once told by a Greek monk, "rarely go to the University to study. There are schools at Nauplia and some other places where they can obtain quite as much learning as they will need, and it is found advisable to give them no more. Philosophy *atheizes* them; and by the time they have completed their academic course, they are but too ready to abandon the sacred office."[11]

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[10] See, for example, the account by J. Theodore Bent, The Cyclades or Life Among the Insular Greeks (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1885), p. 72.

Aspects of Society and Culture

In certain respects the revolution had a major impact upon the social organization of the new nation and the cultural outlook of the people. In others, it solidified what was already emerging during the pre-revolutionary period.

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[11] Henry M. Baird, *Modern Greece: A Narrative of a Residence and Travels in That Country* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1856), pp. 218-219.

Slavery and the bestowal of aristocratic titles were declared illegal, while the principle of equality in a generic sense was readily promulgated. Some foreign observers acclaimed the "democratic idea" of the new Greeks and the absence of an "aristocracy." Writing at the close of the nineteenth century, Bickford-Smith, an Englishman, eulogized:

> As the tourist rides about the interior, he is surprised perhaps at the innocent communism of his muleteer, who, after drinking, passes his master the cup; who, unless restrained, will sleep in the same room as his lordos (milord), but is somewhat reconciled when he discovers that his servant (at a shilling or two a day) is a briefless barrister, or a politician out of work. Neither in public nor in private is heed paid to social standing; the democratic idea, which permeates Greek life from Court to court, is perfectly sincere; exclusiveness there means unsociability. A Greek is quite as willing to extend his acquaintance downwards as upwards; in fact, to him generally up and down simply mean money, and the absence of it.[12]

Clearly the author was contrasting Greece with contemporary England with its hereditary aristocracy and its rigid class system. Greek society was not entirely similar to the English, but clear social divisions, nevertheless, existed. At the very top was the Court, and those who assembled around it. Among these, there were several Phanariote families which established themselves in Athens after the Revolution. A description of some of the characteristics of these "aristocrats" is quite revealing:

> ...[they] dress in the French fashions, and ride on English saddles. They speak a purified Greek; they know French, and often other languages; they resemble other European nations; their wives are ladies, who get their gowns from Paris.[13]

High in the social heirarchy were also included some of the heroes of independence (for example, Kanaris, Karaiskakis, Miaoulēs, and Botsarēs), members of old "noble families" of Austrian, Venetian, or Serbian origin, those who had "struck oil in one shape or another," and an emerging group of professional "legislators" or politicians.

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[12] Bickford-Smith, op. cit., pp. 289-290.

[13] About, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

At the lowest rung of the social ladder, there were the peasant farmers and workers of various sorts, who constituted over 80 per cent of the entire population. In their mode of earning a livelihood and in their cultural attributes the peasant population remained essentially the same as before, tied to a folk religion, and a patriarchal authoritarian folk culture. But it was from this group that some of the revolutionary fighters emerged and these formed a separate group in the growing Athenian society. Unlike the elites described above, the so-called "palikaria" adhered to local and predominantly "oriental" habits of thinking and living.[14]

In between these extremes, there were civil servants, skilled workers, shop-keepers, and traders, "large" landholders, the bulk of the clergy, lawyers, doctors and teachers.

A classification of the population according to occupation in 1840 shows the following distribution: Of a total of about 25,000 economically active people, about half were shepherds or workers in agriculture, and 20 per cent, "small land owners;" about 5 per cent (12,196) were listed as shop keepers and 2.7 per cent (6,090) as wholesale traders; about 7 per cent (15,347) were "mechanics", and 8 per cent sailors and soldiers. The rest included 1,391 civil servants, 110 lawyers, 208 doctors, 276 merchants and bankers and 2,755 "large land proprietors." Interestingly, in 1838 there were 4,645 priests and monks and only 358 teachers.[15]

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[14] *Ibid.*

[15] F. Strong, *Greece as a Kingdom*,

By 1870 the population of Greece had increased from 856,470 to 1,325,479 inhabitants. However, it continued to be overwhelmingly rural and agricultural: eighty-six per cent were listed as farmers and "farmers and shepherds." Industries continued to be in their infancy. They were limited largely to domestic manufactures (fabrics, manufacture of silk, etc.). In 1867, there were 22 factories employing steam power,[16] and about 9 per cent of the total labor force was engaged in "industries." Teachers had increased to 1,613, doctors to 797, while the civil service had soared to 5,343, and priests to 6,649,[17] perhaps the largest ratio relative to population in the whole of Europe.

Nationalism

The Greek War of Independence is quite rightly viewed in the context of the nationalist movements of the period following the French revolution. A dominating characteristic of such nationalism was political independence from an outside power and an intense feeling of patriotism and freedom. The political culture of post-independence Greece displayed these characteristics. Edmond About's observation was quite typical of contemporary accounts. "I have recognized in the Greeks," he wrote, "two political virtues--the love of freedom, and the feeling of equality; a third must be added--that of patriotism."[18] "The characteristic of the Greek that struck me most," echoed Armstrong in 1893, "was his intense patriotism."[19] But what precisely was the nature or content of the Greek conception of freedom and of Greek patriotism?

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[16] A. R. Rengabe, Greece: Her Progress and Present Condition (New York: G. P. Putnam & Son, 1867), pp. 49-50.

[17] Greece, Tmēma Demosias Oikonomias, Statistikē tēs Hellados, 1870, p. 2).

[18] About, op. cit., p. 42.

Freedom invariably connoted political independence, i.e., freedom from external subjugation. And in the context of the times, a Greek's freedom was largely interpreted in relation to the external overlord and enemy, namely, Ottoman Turkey. A free Greek implied one who was not a Turkish subject. The extent to which his political and personal independence were circumscribed by the internal power structure or by European influences was not as markedly obvious as that of national independence or sovereignty. The Greek constitution of 1862 reveals that a Greek's rights were more than overshadowed by his obligations and duties; moreover his freedom had serious qualifications. For example, while the press was declared "free" and "censorship" prohibited, publications could be seized "in case of insult to the Christian religion, or to the person of the King." Furthermore, only Greek citizens were allowed to publish newspapers. And while all Greeks were declared "equal before the law," only Greek citizens were admitted into the public service.

Confounded with the concept of freedom was an "ethnocentric" sense of patriotism and nationalism. To be a Greek implied citizenship in the new state; but it also implied membership in the Greek Orthodox Church, and affinity with all other ethnic Greeks, i.e., the members of the larger Greek nation outside the boundaries of the new state. These were enslaved Greeks who must be liberated from the Ottoman Turk. The following invocation reveals the Greek concept of nation and "fatherland" with unusual clarity.

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[19] Armstrong,

> The Fatherland, children of the Greeks, is not your plain or hill, the cross of your village church, or the smoke of your hearts arising to the sky, nor the tops of your trees, nor the monotonous song of your shepherds. The fatherland is Thessaly for the Akarnanian; Cyprus and Crete for the Athenian; Olympos, Pindos, Athos, for the hill-born Arkadian, and the haughty ranges of Taygetos. The Fatherland is all Greece by blood from Malea and the Ionian Islands to the Phoenician Sea. The Fatherland is whatsoever part of the fair earth speaks the language--our harmonious Greek language; it is whatever causes the throbbings of our breast; it is the bond of religion, the blood-libation which our bretheren, our parents, from all the corners of the Hellenic land, have offered on the altar of our rebuilt native land. The Fatherland is the sharing of the Hellenic name, Freedom's sweetest and holiest link. The Fatherland is our heaven's fair blue, the sweet sun that lights us, the tranquil sea that flows round us, the fertile lands from Thrace and the Euxine to the Libyan Sea. The Fatherland is all our fellow-citizens, great and small, rich and poor. The Fatherland is the nation which we ought to love, worship, serve, and defend with all the powers of our minds, with all the might of our hands, with all the energy and all the love of our souls.[20]

And the rather caustic About observed: "To say the truth, the Greeks like none but Greeks. If they like foreigners, it is in the same way that the sportsman loves game."[21]

Neo-Hellenism

The emerging conception of Greek and Greekness was also colored by the neo-hellenic romanticism described earlier in this chapter. Fanned by a Western romantic type of phil-hellenism, the independent Greeks further encouraged and consolidated an ancestral awe and a cult for Arcadian Hellas. They perceived a continuity in Greek civilization, which was merely interrupted by the Romans and the Ottomans. Often, in fact, modern Greek hellenism even sought to revive the ancient Athenian civilization and bypass the

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[20] Quoted in Bickford-Smith, op. cit., pp. 310-311. On the expansive character of the Greek nation--the Grand Idea--also see Lewis Sergeant, Greece (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1880), p. 129.

[21] About, op. cit., p. 55.

Christian Byzantine interval. One of the far-reaching consequences of this created identification with classical Hellas, which was particularly important in the educational development of the country, was the final dichotomy of the Greek language, a problem known as *diglossy*.

Diglossy has essentially meant two language forms: the pure (*katharevousa*), and the polular or demotic (*demotikē*). In part *diglossy* was influenced by demographic and sociological factors. In the course of time, the rural and largely illiterate population developed a popular sort of spoken Greek which included several "foreign" words and idioms. The higher clergy, the phanariotes, the aristocracy, and the intelligentsia, who were also the educated segments of the population, developed a more rarefied or "pure" form of Greek that was nearer to the classical and New Testament form. But the neo-hellenic romantic revival reinforced this language dichotomy, and the pure form was associated not only with "being educated," but also with being more authentically Greek. The classical revivalists and the "continuity" theorists and partisans deprecated the "barbaric" and peasant demotic and sought to universalize the *katharevousa*. By the mid-1850's, Soutsos, for example, was writing that in a short time "the language of the ancients and of ours--the moderns--will become one and the same." Now that the Greeks were "atticizing," that is, they were using the ancient Attic dialect, the professors of Berlin and Paris would stop calling them "barbarous."[22]

With independence, the katharevousa was declared the official language of the state. It was the form taught in the schools and was even used in poetry with disastrous effects. Already during the decades following the creation of the new state it emerged as a socially divisive force, supported by the upper classes, the Court, and the Church, and criticized by those who wanted to see Greek culture imbedded in the indigenous tradition. In time, an attack against the katharevousa was construed as an attack against the nation and its religious and cultural traditions.

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[22] See Sophroniou, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

Education in the New State

The structure and cultural orientation of the new nation state were intimately connected with education. The organization and administration of the educational system, the types of schools and the curriculum, and the general educational outlook provide one of the clearest ways to understand the nature and content of the emerging Greek society and culture.

Before the accession of King Otto, an educational pattern was already visible. There were "common" schools for the masses, and a few, more selective secondary schools. Instruction was carried largely along the Lancasterian lines. The importance of education was stressed both by most revolutionary leaders and by foreign philhellenes. And despite the ravages of war, several types of schools (common, hellenic, lyceums, and others) were set up. By 1829, Kapodistrias claimed that 6,000 children were attending schools for mutual instruction; and from scanty evidence, more than 15,000 children in a total population of 693,000 people were in schools of some sort. In the same year, a "gymnasion" or "central school" was established in Aegina; in 1831, another was planned in Nauplia; and by then, a "normal school" for the training of teachers was operating.

These educational establishments were supported by private and government contributions. The curriculum of the common schools included religion, Greek, arithmetic, Geography, simple natural history, music and gymnastics, that of the central school, included Greek, French, mathematics and geography.

During Otto's reign education was reorganized and considerably expanded. Indeed in form and orientation modern Greek education, as we know it today, was basically consolidated during these early years of Greece's national existence. Under the influence of Maurer, one of the three Bavarian regents, the Elementary Education Law of 1834 was enacted, followed in 1836 by another legislative decree governing secondary education. In 1837, the educational system was capped by the Othonian University of Athens.

Elementary Education

The new law provided that elementary schools be established in each municipality and that they should be financed and controlled "as required by law on municipalities." Elementary education was declared compulsory for all children from the ages of five to twelve, with separate schools for boys and girls. Authority and responsibility for all educational matters (appointment, transfer and dismissal of teachers, and supervision of schools) were vested in the central Ministry of Education. The administration of education was conducted through several bodies at the central, provincial, district, and local levels. Local boards consisted of the mayor as president, the highest local church official, and 2 to 4 municipal councilors. They provided teaching materials, took care of school buildings, inspected schools at least once a month, and kept an eye over the teachers, reporting any irregularities to the district or provincial administrator (eparch or nomarch).

The law also specified in detail the qualifications, classification, and salaries of teachers and the subjects of the curriculum. The elementary schools taught religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic, the Greek language, drawing, singing, elementary geography, Greek history, elementary natural science, gymnastics, gardening, practical agronomy, bee-keeping and silk-making.

One of the novel characteristics of the law was that henceforth responsibility for popular education was placed in the hands of "public" authorities, viz., the central government and the local municipalities. Education ceased to be an exclusively private or church affair. It took some years before the local authorities or the government took their mandate seriously, but the basic principles of state education were laid early in the nation's existence.

Secondary Education

According to the 1836 legislative decree, post elementary education was organized into two types of schools: the *hellenic* schools and the *gymnasia*. The hellenic school included three classes or grades, and its purpose was two fold: (a) mainly to prepare for the upper stage, the *gymnasion*, and (b) to provide a "self-contained" education for those who did not want to continue their schooling but wished to seek employment that did not require a *gymnasion* or university training. This type of school was named hellenic, i.e., Greek, because of the major emphasis given to Greek in the curriculum (12 weekly hours in each class out of a total of 29-31). Other subjects taught were religion, geography, arithmetic, physical history, history, French, drawing, and in the third year Latin, anthropology, ethnics, geometry and physics.

A full *gymnasion* was a four-year school; it extended the general encyclopedic training of the hellenic school; and its sole purpose was to prepare for the university. Its curriculum included Greek, Latin, religion, history, geography, mathematics, physics, French, and in the fourth year, logic and introduction to philosophy.

Hellenic schools and *gymnasia* were modeled largely on the German *Lateinschulen* and *Gymnasia* respectively. The type of education provided in them reflected a blend of contemporary German neo-humanism (the German schools emphasizing Latin and the Greek counterparts relying on classical Greek), and the romantic neo-hellenism discussed earlier in this chapter. The curriculum was heavily classical, literary, and linguistic. In the *gymnasíon* only about 22 per cent of the entire time was allotted to mathematics and science. In both the hellenic schools and the *gymnasia* classical Greek held a monopoly, despite the provision that modern Greek be included; and the teaching of the classical languages was defined largely in terms of grammar and syntax. "Twenty years after their operation," according to a Greek source, "secondary schools taught only classical Greek, because the teachers believed that, through the intensive teaching of the ancient tongue, Greek youth would be able in a short time to converse in the language of Xenophon."[23]

Another consequence of contemporary neo-humanism and neo-hellenism was the virtual suppression of the popular (demotic) form of modern Greek. The pure language (katharevousa) was not only the official language of the state but also the only type of modern Greek taught in the schools, including the elementary.

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[23] S. G. Tsoumeleas and P. D. Panagopoulos, *Hé Ekpaideusé mas sta Teleutaia 100 Chronia* (Athens: Demetrakos Co., 1933), pp. 83-84.

Finally, it is relevant to point out that secondary schools were selective institutions--educationally and socially. The gymnasia, in particular, although supported by state funds, recruited their students from the more affluent segments of the population. Moreover, they were regarded as schools for the intellectually able pupils who ultimately would become the leaders of the society.

The University of Otto

In the emerging educational system, the German influence was most saliently evident in the first institution of higher learning, at first called the University of Otto. The university consisted of four faculties: law, medicine, theology, and philosophy which included literary, mathematical, and scientific studies. Professors were appointed by royal decree; and in the early years of its existence, many professors were Germans. The course of studies, the methods of instructing and examining, and the system of appointment, tenure, and promotion of the members of the staff bore the imprint of the North German prototypes.

Form its inception, the university was conceived to be a national institution intimately bound up with the political, social, and intellectual life of the new state, indeed of the larger Greek nation. With the abdication of King Otto in 1862, its name was changed to the National University. The inauguration of the institution was marked by pomp and ceremony. Present at the ceremony were the King, all political and military leaders, part of the diplomatic corps, the higher clergy, future students, listeners, and "enthusiastic crowds." Both professors and students (drawn from Greeks at home and abroad) soon became embroiled in the political life of the nation. Professors were consulted on political matters; and after 1843 the university

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was represented in the Parliament. In 1839, when the cornerstone was laid for the permanent headquarters of the university, King Otto indicated the general educational orientation of the institution.

> In this institution Greek youth must be taught the ethical and scientific knowledge which alone can educate the spirit and the heart, and enable the worthy man to fulfill his lofty goals set for him by the divine providence. Greek youth should not forget that it is from the bosom of this institution that men will be picked and charged with the lofty responsibilities of Greek society. And for these reasons they must try to become worthy of the endeavors of their forefathers, which are carried out for them by their contemporaries.[24]

Higher education being conceived largely in ethical, spiritual, and "humanistic" terms, the faculty or school of philosophy was assigned a preeminent role. At the official inauguration of the institution the dean of the school came after the rector in speech protocol and spoke longer than any of the other deans.

Other Educational Institutions

In addition to the previously mentioned state schools, there existed also some private schools, run by non-Orthodox religious groups (Jewish, Roman Catholic, and Protestant). In their curriculum, such establishments were generally similar to the state schools, and they were subject to inspection and to special government regulations. Those Greeks who sent their children to the private schools were in part motivated by the teaching of foreign languages, particularly French which was taught extensively in the Jesuit institutions.

The rather restrictive religious tolerance mentioned earlier was clearly reflected in the general attitude toward this type of private education, especially the attitude of the Orthodox Church. Proselytization was forbidden. But even such activities as the reading of portions of the Bible and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer were held suspect and evoked open hostility.[25]

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[24] *Hellēnikos Tachydromos*, July 9, 1839

The education of priests was often stressed by Koraes and Kapodistrias. It was generally believed that the average Greek parish priest was poorly educated, if at all. In 1844, a seminary was established, known as the Rizario Ecclesiastical School, for the purpose of educating upper clergyman; and in 1856, three lower ecclesiastical schools started for the lower clergy. These religious schools were at the level of the hellenic schools and the gymnasia.

Finally one should mention several efforts made through private initiative to provide technical and commercial skills, as well as some literary and educational associations.

Educational Expansion and Opportunities

Contemporary accounts, views, and reports by Greeks and foreigners generally present a complimentary picture of the educational progress made within a few decades after independence. One common impression was that the Greeks valued education highly. "I have no where seen," wrote C.C. Felton, an American classical scholar and president of Harvard College, in 1861, "such ardent enthusiasm for literaly improvement among the youth in both sexes as in Greece."[26] And at about the same time, the Englishman Matthew Arnold singled out the Greeks among all the Europeans as a people

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[25] See, for example, an account of the early difficulties encountered by the American missionaries, Dr. and Mrs. Hill, who set up a school for girls in Athens in 1831, in Daniel Quinn, "Education in Greece," in the U. S. Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1896-97, Vol. I, Part I, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898, pp. 328-329.

[26] C.C. Felton, The Schools of Modern Greece (Boston: 1861), p. 29

"ardently desirous of knowledge."[27]

Judging by such indexes as school attendance, level of literacy, and growth of other educational activities (e.g., literary societies and printing presses), one would conclude that progress was substantial for a nation with extremely limited resources and in the throes of consolidating itself. In 1830, Greece is said to have had 71 common schools with approximately 7,000 pupils. (Some writers raise the number to over 9,000).. When the secondary law of 1836 was promulgated, there were, according to one source, only three hellenic schools, and one gymnasion.[28] In 1840, the number of common schools increased to about 252 and in 1851-52 to over 350. By 1866, according to Rangabé, the number of such schools stood at over 1.000.[29]

In his official report to the King, the Minister of Education stated that in 1855-56 there were 88 hellenic schools (80 public and 8 private) with a total enrollment of 4,452 pupils, and 11 gymnasia (7 public and 4 private) with approximately 1,182 pupils. In the same year, there were 590 students attending the University of Otto, 75 the military academy of Evelpidōn, and about 500 polytechnical schools.[30]

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[27] Matthew Arnold, "Popular Education in France," in Paul Nash, ed., Culture and the State: Matthew Arnold and Continental Education (New York: Teachers College Press, 1966), p. 89.

[28] J. Gennadius, A Sketch of the History of Education in Greece (Edinburgh: Moray Place, 1925), pp. 26-29. Another source, however, lists 3 gymnasia. See G. Chassiotis, L'Instruction Publique Chez les Grecs (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1881), p. 270.

[29] A. R. Rangabé, Greece: Her Progress and Present Position (New York: G. P. Putnam & Son, 1867), p. 83.

All in all, in a population of slightly less than 1 million, in 1855, about 59,000 individuals were at some sort of educational establishment. By 1870, of a total population of one and one half million, about 74,000 were attending schools, and about 33 per cent of the males and 7 per cent of the females were literate. In 1872, C. K. Tuckerman, an American who had served as minister resident of the United States in Athens, eulogized as follows:

> In Greece...it may be safely asserted that no man, woman or child born in the kingdom since the organization of free institutions, is so deficient in elementary knowledge as not to be able to read and write. The cost of public instruction constitutes 0.053 of the total expenditure of the State, a larger percentage than is paid for these objects by either France, Italy, Austria or Germany, and in proportion to her resources, years and population, she stands undeniably first in the rank of nations--not excepting the United States--as a self-educated people.[31]

While attendance seems to have been comparatively high, there were disparities among regions, between urban and rural areas, among boys and girls, and in opportunities for schooling. Qualifying Tuckerman's eulogy, another contemporary observer noted that "The enthusiastic youth who filled the schools and colleges were drawn mostly from the principal cities and a few favored islands."[32] Relative to their population, the rpovinces of Attica and Boeotia, and within them Athens, had the largest number of schools

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[30] K. C. Christopoulos, *Genikē Ekthesis Pros tēn A. Megaleioteta tou Hypourgou tōn Ekklesiastikōn kai tēs Dēmosias Ekpaideuseōs. Peri tēs katastaseōs tēs Dēmosias Ekpaideuseōs en Helladi, 1855-56* (Athens: Andreas Koromelas, 1857), pp. 7-11.

[31] C. K. Tuckerman, *The Greeks of Today* (New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1872), pp. 179-180.

[32] Edson L. Clark, *The Races of European Turkey* (New York: Dodd Mead & Co., 1878, p. 203.

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and enrollments.[33] Village children had consideralby fewer chances to attend gymnasia or the university, than city children. This was partly due to the costs involved in living away from home and to the fact that many village parents were not quite sure about the value of further education. Peasant parents preferred that their children attend the village school, if one existed, and then help them in their own activities. School attendance on the part of girls was considerably lower than that of boys.

In addition to the above discrepancies, compulsory elementary school attendance was not enforced; nor local communities carry out their statutory responsibilities.[34] In the secondary schools (hellenic and gymnasia), not all children who attended were able to complete the course. And regular attendance at the university was rather uneven.

It is also relevant to comment on factors bearing upon the quality of instruction in the existing schools. First and foremost was the quality and status of the teachers. The Elementary Law of 1834 specified in detail the classification and qualifications of teachers. Teachers classified as first grade were required to possess knowledge of, and be able to teach the Christian religion, reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, drawing, Greek history, geography, elements of geometry and mechanics, physical training, singing, elements of botany, agronomy, gardening, bee-keeping, silk-making, and what is required for every day life in the physical sciences. Teachers classified as grade three were expected "at least to be able to read, write and count; to be able to explain the gospel and to sing; and to have some knowledge of trees, gardening, silk-making and bee-keeping."[35] For several reasons (poor and unsteady pay, living conditions, etc.) many unsuitable and unqualified individuals were instructing the young. As a consequence of this, the government at one point accepted as a teacher anybody who "in the presence of other teachers prepared and submitted in his own hand-writing an application in which he declared that he knew reading, writing and the four operations of arithmetic, as well as the elements of religion."[36] In the absence of lay teachers, often priests conducted classes.

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[33] Christopoulos, op. cit., p. 13. Next in size of school population were Eupoia and Laconia.

[34] For further details, see Ch. Lephas, Historia tes Ekpaideuseos (Athens, 1942), pp. 21-50. Also see Christopoulos, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

Physical facilities in certain villages were deplorable. Where there were no school buildings, and this was not uncommon, the local church was used as a school; and in certain places classes were conducted in the open air.

Lastly, the "efficiency" of schools must be assessed in terms of the way teaching and learning were carried out and the actual content of instruction. Reports by contemporary inspectors reveal that in many schools the monitorial system was not effective in teaching the basic rudiments of knowledge. Language instruction did not go beyond formal grammatical exercises and reading aloud from textbooks, and religious instruction consisted of recitation of prayers. "Generally speaking," an inspector wrote, "except for a mechanical sort of reading, writing and arithmetic, Greek children are taught northing else, nor are they morally educated in anything."[37]

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[35] Lephas, op. cit., p. 170.

[36] Ibid., p. 171

[37] Tsoumeleas and Panagopoulos, op. cit., p. 25. The same source contains several other excerpts from inspectors' reports on the general condition of elementary schools in the villages.

Modernity in the Emerging Educational Culture

Less than fifty years after the call to national independence was sounded in 1821, the new Greek state displayed several features often associated with societies well along the path of modernization. In the political sphere, power was consolidated in a constitutional monarchy, and administration filtered down from the center through a clearly defined structure. The new state assumed functions which previously were performed by the Church, the family, provincial landlords, and a variety of other agencies. From the legal standpoint, citizens enjoyed state protection and they were equal before the law. In the socio-economic domain, class boundaries could be crossed and there was a noticeable absence of a strongly entrenched hereditary aristocracy. Cities began to grow, and channels between town and country were more easily traversed. More so than in the other sectors, education in the new state compared quite favorably with contemporary and in several respects more advanced European nations. A "modern" educational structure took shape, which combined the centralization of the German system with the community responsibility of the French. There was a graded system of schools from the elementary to the university; and attendance as well as literacy were, by the standards of the day, quite high. The subjects in the curriculum and the methods of instruction were in large part similar to those in Western European schools. In short, were one to confine oneself to such structural aspects of education and to the society at large, one would have to conclude that Greece in mid-nineteenth centruy was as "modern" as contemporary France, Germany, or England and perhaps more "modern" than many of the new nations today. But modernization is much more complex and multi-faceted. The Greek experience during the early years of its national history provides an interesting variation of this concept in general and educational modernization in particular. To get at the roots of this variation we also probed into the values and orientations of the new nation state. Rather than repeat what has already been said, we might conclude by briefly commenting on the emerging Greek "educational culture," for education was the larger Greek culture writ small.

One cluster of values pervading all levels and types of education, especially popular education, may be described as Christian Orthodox values. The purpose of elementary schools, according to a report by the Minister of Education to the king, is not merely to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic; more important than that, "they should contribute to the moral development of the people," a task which could only be accomplished if the teachers were themselves imbued with "Christian virtue." In essence, the Christian culture which the teachers should possess and which they should seek to import to their pupils consisted of "devotion to the divine," and to the Orthodox Church, love of the fatherland (patris) and its leader (the king), obedience to the laws and principles of the land, and a harmonious existence with others.[38]

These "Christian" values were supported by most agencies in the society and guarded especially by the Orthodox Church. As stated above, religious instruction and religious exercises (prayers, going to church on Sundays and holy days, etc.) were compulsory; and priests and bishops sat on school committees. Orthodoxy was further indirectly sought by instructing the youth in the classical and the pure forms of the Greek language, for these media were closer to New Testament Greek.

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[38] Christopoulos, op. cit., p. 27.

Another and, in the minds of the Greeks, related cluster of values may be subsumed under the broad concept of neo-hellenism. Neo-hellenism entailed devotion to and love of the fatherland, its preservation, protection from outside dangers, and its expansion. Patriotism was an integral part of the concept of Greek citizenship which the schools studiously sought to promote. Love of country (philopatria), as the aforementioned Minister's report indicates, was both a political and a religious value. In the emerging Greek educational culture they were inextricably bound. "Philopatria," according to a circular issued some years later by the Ministry of Religion and Public Education, "is the twin sister of religion." "The loftiest and noblest purpose of any school," it continued, "has always been the religious and nationalistic (patriotic) upbringing."[39]

Neo-hellenism entailed devotion to classical Greece as well. The ancients were the prototypes for emulation and were soon venerated as Confucian cult objects; the schools in their turn sought to inculcate such attachment and veneration. In their "return to classical Hellas" the Greeks were influenced by the romantic revival of Western Europe.

The classical Greek educational values and outlooks which the modern Greeks sought to revive, must perforce be described in general terms. Primary emphasis was placed on the intellectual and moral aspects of education; the application of knowledge to practical activities or to technological advancement was outside the scope of "classical" or "neo-classical" education. This was clearly manifested in statements about what education is and in the institutionalization of neo-hellenic culture in the schools. All levels of education, particularly the post-elementary, were dominated

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[39] Ch. Lephas, Nomothesia Mesēs Ekpaideuseōs (Athens: 1915), pp. 4-5.

dominated by a classical-literary-linguistic type of humanistic learning: and within this conception of humanism, Greek learning was the most pervasive. Another manifestation of institutionalized neo-hellenism was the language policy with its stress upon purism built on classical Attic models.

The emerging educational culture, therefore, signified an alliance between Orthodox Christian and classical Greek humanism. The two were inextricably bound in the Greek ethos. Moreover, they defined Greekness and a national cultural identity. The consequences of such a cultural orientation were several. From the vantage point of "building a nation" it provided the necessary myths to consolidate national consciousness. But it also created a "totalistic," unflexible, and narrowly ethnocentric educational ideology. In many respects, therefore, despire the trappings of modernity, the emerging educational "monoculture" was incipiently "anti-modern." Educational modernity in the new state was founded on values and orientations essentially "looking backwards", and it was largely perceived in pre-scientific and pre-industrial terms.

Schools were perceived as agents to socialize the young into unquestioned acceptance of the authority of the ancients, the Orthodox religion, and the new institutions of the state. "But as yet," a foreign writer observed, "the knowledte of the Greeks, universally diffused as it is, is a mere school-boy knowledge." He continued:

> To the great body of the people, that political intelligence and training which would fit them to form a just opinion upon important questions, and to exert a controlling influence in public affairs, is entirely wanting...The peasantry are quiet, peaceable, and loyal, and never think of resisting the government, whatever course it may pursue.[40]

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[40] Clark, op. cit., pp. 285-286.

"The Greeks," About wrote, "fancy that their ancestors knew everything."[41] Tuckerman echoed: "The young are too much impressed with the glory and grandeur of the ancient, and the superlative merits of the modern Greek."[42]

There is finally another aspect of Greek education as it relates to modernization and national development, worthy of further comment. This pertains to the links between the educational system and the emerging occupational structure, an area very much discussed in current studies of education and development. The organization of the new state created a multiplicity of occupational functions and the schools were expected to supply the necessary personnel or "manpower." Major occupational sectors were the civil service, clerical careers in business and commerce, and the free professions. Since the country was overwhelmingly agricultural and non-industrial the "market for technical skills was extremely limited. Moreover, as stated above, the emerging educational culture did not support the development of practical and technical skills. Nor did the institutional framework allow for alternative types of schooling and skill formation. At first this situation did not pose serious problems for the civil service, business and commerce, and the existing free professions (law, medicine, teaching and the ministry) were able to absorb the products of the schools and the univetsity. But in the course of time serious problems were created. This was particularly evident in imbalances in the enrollments of students in the university. Within very few years of its creation, the faculty of law was registering a disproportionate number of university students. Lawyers could either practice their profession or enter politics. But soon the country was flooded with such individuals, many of whom were either unemployed or underemployed. Although one of the major occupational outlets of those studying in the faculty of philosophy was teaching, not all graduates embarked upon teaching careers. Again many sought some civil service job or a career in politics. To top it all, most educated people gravitated to Athens. Accounts by foreign observers are replete with references to political "hangers on," unemployed lawyers, and the like. On abundance of politicians and lawyers, Clark wrote:

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[41] About, op. cit., p. 173.

[42] Tuckerman, op. cit., p. 184.

> ...in no other country in the world does so large a proportion of the educated class of young men look to political life as a permanent profession and source of livelihood...The legal profession is greatly overstocked, and the mercantile houses have already a crowd of applicants for every vacant post.
>
> Too often the young man finds himself prepared for active life with nothing before him but to become a hanger on of some political clique, in the hope that in some way, and at some time, he may secure some office, and so climb to power. The class of professed politicians, always needy, hungry, and ready for any service, honorable or dishonorable, is thus constantly recruited and enlarged.[43]

Some saw these imbalances as a consequence of the overemphasis on literary education in the schools. Thus, for example, Felton criticized the Greeks and their schools for "a somewhat extravagant estimate of literary education." This, according to him, had mischievous effects.

> Many young men, who should be cultivating the earth, taking care of the flocks, or learning the mechanical arts, are content to waste their lives in the petty and ill-paid offices, in the gift of administration. Education in the schools is valued as a stepping stone to these insignificant appointments. In short with all their intellectual capacity, there is in many of the Greeks, not otherwise deficient, a want of practical sense.[44]

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[43] Clark, op. cit., pp. 286-87. Also see About, op. cit., p. 173 and Bickford-Smith, op. cit., p. 194.

[44] Felton, op. cit., p. 31.

This raises a question often asked with respect to new nations today. Was it the curriculum of the schools that created the imbalances in occupational preferences (i.e., preferences for certain white-collar jobs despite their being overcrowded) or was it the occupational structure itself and the existing system of incentives--monetary or otherwise? The answer must be sought in both contexts. Given the low prestige of practical, technical, or agricultural careers, it was unrealistic to expect high aspirations for them. Further, most institutions in the new state, including the schools, were governed by what has been described as a rigid "monoculture." Here again, the formative period of Greek national development created the mechanism for possible constraints to accelerated modernization and change.

CHAPTER III

THE ERA OF THE GRAND IDEA (1863-1923)

The Greek educational experience since the accession of George I in 1863 coincides roughly with two major stages in national development. Until 1923, Greek national development was activated by the ideology of the so-called Grand Idea (Megale Idea). This was a period of ultra-nationalism, of incessant conflicts with the arch-enemy, the Ottoman Empire, of unprecedented territorial expansion and "growth," and of victories and defeats. It was also a period of further consolidation of the socio-political and educational institutions, and the entrenchment of the educational culture discussed in the previous chapter. With the collapse of the Grand Idea, the nation entered another turbulent phase, marked by severe internal conflicts and tribulations including a republican interregnum, military dictatorships, two devastating wars, fear of Communism, ambivalence towards "liberal" movements, and constant political instability. Education continued to grow quantitatively; and in 1928-31 a reorganization took place. Basically, however, its underlying values and its orientation remained the same; it was not until the 1960's, that an attempt was made to bring about changes in these respects.

The Era of the Grand Idea (1863-1923)

"Hellas is where there are Hellenes." So ran an ancient definition of Greece, and the modern Greeks literally sought to build their nation on that premise. Unlike his predecessor, Otto, King George was crowned "King of the Hellenes;" and, following the practice of the Byzantine Emperors, added "Basileus" (King, he who reigns) after his name. When Constantine succeeded his father, George I, to the Greek throne, there was controversy as to whether he should be crowned Constantine I or Constantine XII, the latter title signifying that the modern Constantine was the direct successor of Constantine Paleologus, the last Byzantine Emperor. He was crowned Constantine I. But popular sentiment at a time of unprecedented jingoism fanned by victories over the Ottomans lent credence to a common adage that "Constantine lost it [referring to the loss of Constantinople in 1453], and Constantine will regain it [referring to the recapture of the coveted City]."

There was much that happened from 1863 to 1923 to bolster the dream of the Grand Idea. Despite some setbacks, i.e., the failure of early attempts to annex Crete and the Greek defeat by the Ottomans in 1897, the Greeks, with support from the great powers, and from their Slavic neighbors, managed to push the Ottomans out of Crete, Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, and Western Thrace. Greece joined the Allies during the First World War, and shortly after, they led a confident army into Asia Minor, the heartland of the Ottoman Empire. They pushed swiftly eastward and were within a few miles from Ankara, while allied forces were stationed in Istanbul. But then there was disaster. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk rallied a demoralized Turkish army together and swiftly pushed the Greeks into the Aegean Sea. Ataturk toppled the Istanbul government and reigned supreme on Anatolia and Eastern Thrace. An armistice was agreed upon and a treaty was negotiated, which among other things, called for an "exchange of populations." Over one-million and a half ethnic Greeks residing in Turkish lands were exchanged for about three-quarters of a million ethnic Turks residing on Greek soil. Only a small minority of Greeks remained in Istanbul and some other cities (probably not more than a quarter of a million) and about one hundred thousand Turks in Greek Thrace. This marked the demise of the Grand Idea.

The ideology of the Grand Idea influenced other aspects of Greek national development. It reinforced and further consolidated the Greek conception of nationalism and its associated Helleno-Christian ideas; it strengthened the socio-political and educational organization established during Otto's reign; and it colored the nature and content of the Greek educational culture.

The content of "Greekness" and Greek "nationalism" as it developed in the nineteenth century and as it was colored by the ideology of the Grand Idea was analyzed in the previous chapter. With the advent to power of the Cretan nationalist Eleftherios Venizelos, Greek nationalism continued its expansive, anti-Ottoman character and thought.

Venizelos was born and became nationally known in Crete which was still under Ottoman hands. But his activities against the Ottoman over-lords were not directed toward the establishment of an independent Crete; he considered himself as belonging to larger Hellas instead, and struggled for the unification of the island to the motherland. And when he assumed power in Athens as prime minister in 1910, his vision was for a greater unified Hellas stretching north into Macedonia and Thrace, East into the Aegean Islands, and reaching into Western Asia Minor and Constantinople. The Cretan wars, the Balkan War, the First World War, and the Asia Minor War were fought in the name of the unredeemed Greek bretheren and the glory of an expanded and unified Greece. So strong was the Grand Idea, that it determined the popularity of the monarchy and the political leaders.

Venizelos and Constantine I dominated Greek political life from 1910 to 1923. The interplay of internal forces associated with these two men illustrates the developing conflicts and ambivalences of twentieth century Greek national development.

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Constantine was the first Greek sovereign that could be said to have been Greek-bred and Greek-oriented. He was born in Greece and professed the Greek Orthodox creed. Moreover, like his Greek contemporaries, he was imbued with the spirit of Greek national ~~expansion~~ expansion; and he envisioned the day when he would enter Constantinople in triumph, and there crown himself as King of the Hellenes in the hallowed Byzantine cathedral of Saint Sophia. These characteristics endeared him among many people who had been ambivalent about Greek royalty. Even today children are reminded of the great "stratelates" (the commander-in-chief). A very recent sixth-grade civics textbook describes him as follows:

> ...he was commander-in-chief of the heroic Greek army. His bravery and love toward our army and particularly toward the soldiers, were indescribable. A soldier from Sparta wrote to his mother: "Mother, our Constantine takes care of us as if we were his children, he watches us like an eagle and runs like our father.[1]"

Constantine was indeed a military man. He was educated almost exclusively in military studies. His militarism was considerably strengthened by his connections with Germany and the German Kaiser Wilhelm II whose sister, Sophia, Constantine had married. Constantine himself received his military education at the Kriegsakademie in Berlin. Some of the king's closest advisers, and notably colonel Metaxas,[2] were themselves schooled in the German military and authoritarian atmosphere of the times.[3]

Constantine was also monarch in the Greek meaning of the term. Although in theory George I and Constantine were"constitutional sovereigns"

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[1] N. Alikatos, Agōgē tou Politou (Athens: Hermēs Press).

[2] Metaxas had been brought up in Germany where he was known as "little Moltke." Metaxas was the general, who in 1936, established a facist dictatorship.

[3] Edward S. Forster, A Short History of Modern Greece, 1821-1940 (London: Methuen & Co., 1941), p. 74.

they constantly interfered in the political process and the affairs of the country. "There can be little doubt," Forster has written, "that the Kaiser deliberately set himself to mould the impressionable Constantine to his own views of the function of a sovereign as the All-Highest and sole controller of the destiny of his people rather than the constitutional ruler and interpreter of the people's will."[4] Ambivalence toward monarchs continued (George I was assassinated in 1913 and Constantine was forced to abdicate in 1917 and in 1922). But the monarchy as an institution continued to draw support from powerful groups (the Church, and segments of the military, the political, and the economic establishments). The feelings of the people oscillated. In times of triumph the kings' popularity was high; in times of disaster, it was low. In general, by this time the monarchy was invested with a mantle of respectability, stability, mystique, and the usual veneration of a princely state. Despite the non-partisan role of the monarch, a Conservative royalist "party" took shape which came into conflict with the more "liberal" Venizelists (the followers of Venizelos).

Like Constantine, Venizelos in many respects was a national expansionist.. Also he was not a republican, that is, he was not against the institution of the monarchy. In the summer of 1916,when popular feeling ran high against the King's pro-German policies, Venizelos addressed the people and ended with these words: "The Liberal Party is no enemy of the Crown, the Dynasty, or your Person; it is the respectful guardian of our free Constitution; only those who are exploiting the Crown are, in fact, your worst enemies, can seek to persuade you otherwise."[5]

Venizelos is credited with the creation of the Liberal Party, the first such party organized in free Greece. It was the party of the "barefooted" as the conservative and staunch pro-royalists contemptuously described it. The Venizelist liberalism was a right-of-the-center social ideology. It sought to bring about changes in the socio-political spheres within the framework of a constitutional monarchy. The activating ideal was to "rejuvenate" and reconstruct the nation, which in many respects had changed considerably since independence. Externally, the Venizelist liberals continued the policy of an expanded and United Greece, which implied the liberation of the captive brethren living under Ottoman domination. Internally, they sought to coordinate commerce, industry, and agriculture, justice, and labor conditions (in 1911 the principle of combinations into trade unions was recognized and in 1912 a National Labor Board was established), and to reform the administration and the civil service (more secure tenure and elimination of the spoils system), the national police, prisons, and the like. Venizelos and the Liberal reformers were also responsible for the revision of the Constitution, and for considerable activity in education.

Much has been said about the quarrels and differences between Venizelos and the King. The Cretan Liberal infused Greek politics with an aura of stability and respectability that did not exist before; and this undercut royal maneuvering in office holding and dispensing of favors. The King and his "party" represented a conservative "establishment" and any attempts at change unavoidably had repercussions on the power of such an establishment. But by and large the differences between the two men revolved around foreign affairs; the monarch inclined toward a pro-German policy while Venizelos advocated a stand on the side of the allies. In internal matters Venizelos and the liberals were not radical reformers. They were neither anti-monarchists nor anti-establishment. Their reforming activities were essentially limited to social welfare areas, to communications, and to the smoother functioning of the administrative state apparatus.

Although Venizelos sought to bolster industry and commerce, the Greek economy remained essentially a "small agricultural-commercial economy." Manufacturing, limited largely to small domestic industries, occupied a rather minor place in the economy. Over 70 percent of the population was rural and agricultural (small farmers and shepherds). Yet, some progress was registered in this sector. By the First World War, manufacturing contributed about 10 percent of the national income, and towns such as Athens, Patras, Volos, and Piraeus developed into important commercial outlets for the agricultural products of the hinterland.

Conflict and Controversy Over Education

The nature and scope of the emerging Greek liberalism was clearly reflected in the cultural and educational spheres. A new generation of literary writers and educators born in Greece and influenced by the indigenous atmosphere sought to infuse Greek education and culture with a more "progressive" spirit. They reacted against the romantic neo-hellenism of their predecessors and the arid classicism and formalism in education. But the forces of tradition proved to be too strong for any substantial concrete educational changes. And in structure as well as orientation, Greek education remained essentially the same.

Enrollments continued to increase at all levels of schooling. At the International Conference of Vienna in 1873 Greece won the second prize for secondary school attendance and Western Europeans continued to praise the Greeks for their interest in and love of education. In 1914, Lucy Garnett, one such observer, wrote that "the Greeks can now claim to be, with one exception, the most highly educated nation in Europe."[6] It is not clear, however, what index was used for such an assessment. For after an initial spurt, as illustrated by the Vienna Conference, school enrollments did not keep up with the dramatic overall population increases.[7] In 1899, G. Theotokēs, the Minister of Education, noted that of all European countries, Greece surpassed only Portugal, Rumania, and Russia in school enrollments relative to the population.[8] And although by the First World War, the percentage of children at school relative to the population had increased from 4.2 (1895) to 7.2, Greece continued to lag behind most European countries in both attendance and levels of literacy. In addition, there were striking regional disparities and imbalances in boy-girl enrollments. Considerably fewer girls than boys were at school.

During the period under consideration, several attempts were made to bring about changes in the administration and organization of the educational system. In 1889, Theodokes submitted to Parliament nine decrees which sought to lengthen elementary education to six years, to abolish the middle *hellenic* schools, and to extend the *gymnasion* course to five years. Theodokes also pressed for the enforcement of the law affecting elementary education, the revision of the curriculum, the improvement of teacher training and school facilities. None of his proposals were accepted.

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[6] Lucy M. J. Garnett, *Greece of the Hellenes* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), p. 60.

[7] Owing to the large territorial expansion the population of Greece had increased from 1,457,894 in 1870 to 5,016,889 in 1920 and 6,204,684 in 1928.

[8] See Tzoumeleas and Panagopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

But in the ensuing years, several administrative innovations were made. For example, in 1895 permanent inspectors were appointed for each province (nomos), and teacher tenure became more secure; in 1905 an Educational Council was established in the Ministry of Education, and in 1911 compulsory education was constitutionally enforced.

The impetus for educational reform gained momentum after 1912 and coincided with the broader national movement for expansion and readjustment discussed previously. Venizelos and Tsirimokos, the Minister of Education enlisted the cooperation of "progressive" educators, notably Glenos and Delmouzos, and new plans for an educational reorganization were submitted to parliament. The plans called for six-year compulsory elementary education for all children and two types of secondary schools: (a) practical three-year schools for lower middle class children, and (b) six-year gymnasia for the children of the upper middle classes. Beginning with the third class, the gymnasion course would be diversified into the classical-humanistic and the practical-scientific tracks. The three-year schools would prepare for immediate employment or for secondary vocational schools. The gymnasia would provide general humanistic and "scientific" education and would prepare for institutions of higher learning.

As with previous proposals at comprehensive reorganization, the Tsirimokos-Glenos plans met with fierce opposition and were ultimately rejected. But there was one significant development during this period. In 1917, the demotic language was introduced into the elementary schools. This rather modest pedagogical innovation symbolized the impact of a new educational movement which centered in the place of the "demotic" language in Greek life and thought. "Demotikismos" or "demoticism," as the movement is commonly known, extended beyond the narrow confines of pedagogy and language instruction in the schools. It was a social and cultural movement as well and cut at the roots of modernization in the new nation. Its turning point is often taken to be the decade of the 1880s, and more particularly, the appearance of Psycharis' The Journey in 1888: Demaras, the distinguished historian of modern Greek literature, puts it as follows:

> The generation of the 1880 gives form to the previous diffused intellectual and linguistic elements. The phenomenon parallels closely social developments and expresses a novel Greek movement. A new enlightenment begins. Its leading personality was Psycharis; its creator was Palamas.[9]

The generation largely responsible for the "new enlightenment" consisted mainly of Greek intellectual emigrés residing abroad, and of local figures who were born in the islands and outer provinces and who did not belong to the existing social and intellectual establishment. "Their background," according to one source, "was lower middle class (their fathers were artisans, teachers, priests, farmers and lower civil servants); they sent their sons to Athens to finish the university, and the sons devoted themselves to literature."[10] This new generation reacted against the intellectual content and form of the writers since the revolution. Such writers sought to imitate foreign and ancient models,

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[9] K. Th. Dēmaras, Historia tēs Neohellēnikēs Logotechnias (Athēnai: Ikaros, second edition, 1968), p. 252.

[10] Elias Papasteriopoulos, K. Palamas: Henas Epanastatēs Ston Kairo tou (Athena, 1962), p. 25.

and to revive the archaic Attic language. Their writings were notoriously uncritical in their worship of the classic authors, and their themes were taken from the ancient and medieval post. They completely ignored the contemporary world and the indigenous popular tradition. The result was an artificial, pompous, and arid literary culture which did not strike a responsible chord in the hearts of the ordinary Greeks. These intellectual propensities created cultural and social splits and lack of communication among the various segments of the society. They also had deleterious consequences in education and in the general building of the new nation.

The new writers sought instead to give respect and vitality to the local popular tradition and the contemporary world. Their linguistic medium was the demotic rather than the pure form and their themes were taken from the "living popular tradition." The revival of the literary and educational culture was expressed in a variety of ways: through the appearance of new periodicals, journals, and pamphlets, and the compilation of local folklore, through an unprecedented poetic creativity, through novels and satires, and through the establishment of literary and educational associations. The new literary enlightenment was wide in scope and its purpose was to reorient Greek culture or "paideia." Since education in the more restricted sense of the organized content of the Greek culture was regarded as one of the basic desiderata for such reorientation, it became a focal point in the attempted cultural renascence. As with the larger movement it centered, in "demoticism," and was often described as "educational demoticism."

Educational Demoticism

Demoticism spread rapidly in the immediate decades following Psycharis' publication of The Journey. But while the demoticist fervor spread among teachers, doctors, lawyers, poets and novelists, the schools continued in the purist and pseudo-classical tradition. The elementary school teacher was mainly preoccupied with the teaching of Attic grammatical forms, and his effectiveness was judged by the successes he had in the entrance examinations into the middle-hellenic schools. From the first grade children were drilled in conjugations, declensions, syntax, and exceptions, and in a vocabulary they never used in their everyday life. The elementary school was a mere adjunct to the hellenic school despite the fact that only one-tenth of children ever attended the latter institution. The pure form of the language completely dominated the hellenic schools, the gymnasia and the University of Athens.

The demoticist spokesmen considered this state of affairs as a major stumbling block in the development of education and the nation at large. In 1910 an Educational Association (Ekpaideutikos Homilos) was organized which included the leading educational demoticists of the day, notably Delmouzos, Glenos, and Triantaphyllides. The Association embarked upon a campaign of popular enlightenment in the value of demoticism; and it sought to influence political opinion so that the demotic would be introduced into the schools. Meanwhile, in 1908, A. Delmouzos, a young teacher who had recently returned from his studies in Germany, was asked to direct a newly established higher school for Girls in Volos. The Volos experiment was short-lived. The school closed three years after its opening and Demouzos was dismissed. But this abortive enterprise became a cause celebre in the annals of modern Greek educational history.

Delmouzos, who had studied theology, literature and pedagogy abroad, introduced the popular language in the school and sought to make the curriculum, particularly history, classical literature, and natural history more relevant to the lives of the pupils. Children spent less time on classical grammar and explication of the classical texts and more on the meaning and spirit of the ancients. The classical myths and allegories were translated into man's perennial struggle with himself, his fellow man, and his environment. According to Delmouzos' own testimony, [11] there was general enthusiasm among the pupils to learn; the girls discussed school experiences with their parents and friends, and engaged in projects during off-school hours. When the school closed and Delmouzos was dismissed, letters were sent to the authorities supporting the actions of the teacher and urging his return.

Within a short time after its opening, the school and its director became the center of controversy. A smearing campaign was waged against Delmouzos and his new pedagogy. According to the critics, Delmouzos' teachings undermined the main pillars of Greek culture, namely, religion, family, nationalism, and language. Delmouzos was labelled a revolutionary, an atheist, even a socialist. His use of the demotic, the "hairy" language as it was by then derogatorily called, was viewed as an expression of an anti-religious and anti-national social ideology. Not unexpectedly, among those who led the attack was the local bishop. In 1911 the school was closed and Delmouzos' activities were investigated. Three years later he was tried but finally he was acquitted. Subsequently Delmouzos attempted to introduce his ideas into a pedagogical academy, but again there was public furor and trials. The demoticist reformer lived until 1956, having served for brief periods as Professor of Pedagogy at the University of Salonica and as Minister of Education. When he died all Greece mourned him, and intellectuals hailed him as one of the greatest modern Greek teachers and educational thinkers!

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[11] The full story of the Volos experiment is vividly presented in Delmouzos' book, To Krypho Scholeio (The Secret School), (Athens: 1950).

The Volos episode illustrates the nature of the controversies and the interplay of forces that surrounded "educational demoticism" and the broader Greek culture in the opening decades of the present century. The "language question" was linked with religion, family, national consciousness, political ideology (liberal-progressivism and conservative traditionalism), even bolshevism and masonism. Earlier, the demoticist Laskaratos had written: "The language question is not so much philogical as it is social. The question revolves around what form of the language will contribute to the improvement, education and well-being of the nation."[12] And in his introduction to The Journey, Psycharis linked the demotic with nation building.

> Two things are required for a nation to become a nation: extension of its territorial boundaries, and the creation of its own literature. When it demonstrates that it knows what the value of the popular language is and when it is not ashamed of this linguistic form, then we will see that it has become a nation.[13]

Language soon became a burning socio-political issue. The translation into the demotic of the New Testament caused public riots in Athens and the downfall of the government. After 1910 rival organizations were set up around the two forms of the language (the *demotikē* and the *katharevousa*). The demoticist Educational Association was countered by "Patria," an organization whose purpose was to protect "national traditions and ideals." The demoticist camp included the Rallēs brothers, well-known business entrepreneurs in England and India, Greek intellectuals living abroad such as Eftaliotes and Vlastos, leading literary figures, such as Palamas, Drosinis, Mavilis, Pallis and Xenopoulos, the linguists Psycharis and Triantaphyllides, the folk-lorist Politēs, and the already mentioned Delmouzos and Glenos. On the opposite side, the purist cause was supported by the formidable University of Athens and the Church. In addition, the purist camp included all the traditional and conservative elements in the society, including the monarch, which were also the more numerous and powerful. The educational demoticism of Delmouzos and Glenos was countered by the purism of Exarchopoulos, who dominated pedagogical thought in the School of Philisophy of the University (which trained all secondary school teachers) down to the decade following the Second World War. The attack against demoticism in general was headed by Mistriotes and Hadjidakis, also professors at the University of Athens, who incited the students to public protests and street rioting against the "hairy" radical demoticists.

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[12] Quoted from M. Triantaphyllidēs, Demotikismos kai Antithrasē (Athēna: 1960), p. 166.

[13] Quoted from J. K. Kordatos, Historia tou Glossikou mas Zētēmatos (G. Loukatos, 1943), p. 117.

The upshot of the situation was that in 1911 the language question was discussed in Parliament. This resulted in a constitutional provision (article 107) which declared the *katharevousa* the official language of the state. But the controversy continued during the period of the

Venizelos ascendancy and, as noted earlier, new plans for a comprehensive reorganization of education. The only accomplishment, however, was the introduction of the demotic in the elementary schools in 1917. The purists continued the reaction even against such a modest change. After a temporary reversal, the demotic was reinstated in 1923. Thereafter it continued to be the language of the first four grades of the elementary school. But it dominated the upper two grades and the post-elementary levels of education. The sharpness of the issue, however, was not blunted. After the Second World War a full-scale debate erupted again, and a major breakthrough occurred in 1964 when the Papandreou government pushed through Parliament the now famous "Educational Reform of 1964." This episode is discussed more fully in Chapter VI.

The demoticist controversy reflects the nature and scope as well as the strains and stresses of educational modernization in the early decades of the twentieth century. Its agents included mainly Greek intellectuals living abroad, others who studied in Western Europe or were exposed to Western ideas, and individuals from the islands, and the outer regions of the nation. They were generally drawn from middle and lower middle socio-economic strata. Around the demoticist cause there also gathered the contemporary liberal social and political elements of the country. But demoticism and liberalism faced the opposition of the Greek socio-political and educational establishment which in the end proved to be too strong for any substantial change to be brought about. The opposition included the Church, generally the intellectuals associated with established institutions (e.g., the university and the gymnasia), and the conservative political groups. The establishment perceived itself as the guardian of the Greek cultural and educational traditions and ideals which became institutionalized and perpetuated after the revolution. The country was still in the formative stage of national and cultural integration, and thus still in a state of fear and insecurity. As a consequence, the invoking of emotion-ridden concepts and symbols such as faith, language, nation, and the classical heritage, was devastatingly effective in stultifying even modest efforts at change. The establishment charged that demoticism undermined the very foundations of the new state and was an expression of "dark forces" seeking to create a social and cultural revolution that would de-hellenize and de-Christianize the Greek nation.

But the failure of the nascent socio-educational liberalism of this period cannot be explained solely in terms of the strength of an inflexible establishment. Liberalism itself was beset by ambivalences and lack of coordination. For example, the position of Venizelos and his liberal followers on the language issue was rather unclear. They supported the Glenos proposals which led to the 1917 language reform. But at the same time they reiterated the previous policy that the katharevousa was the official language of the state and thus stymied any attempts to elevate the place of the demotic. Translations of holy texts were explicitly forbidden. The Venizelists liberals gradually became completely preoccupied with other political questions and had lost their original social reformist zeal. Soon after 1917, the most activist wing in the Liberal party lost its power and the party was liberal only in name. Education once again was in the hands of traditional conservative elements.

CHAPTER IV

FROM VENIZELOS TO KARAMANLES (1928-1957)

The Asia Minor catastrophe and the consequent exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey mark a turning point in Greek history. The collapse of the Grand Idea was followed by political, social, economic and ideological confusion. King Constantine was discredited and forced to abdicate. His son, George II, was soon forced into exile and a republic was proclaimed. Within the period 1923-1936 there were military interventions and dictatorships and constant political instability and government changes. The restoration of George II in 1935 was soon followed by the Metaxas dictatorship, the Greek analogue to the contemporary German and Italian fascism.

From the Greek standpoint, the Greco-Turkish agreement of 1923 meant an influx of about a million and half refugees in a country of about five million people. Among the beneficial effects of this forced migration was an increase in technical and entrepreneurial skills. Moreover, many of the refugees were settled in rural areas and thus more land was opened to cultivation. But the refugee settlement also created serious problems. Most of the newcomers were destitute and illiterate. Although they were ethnically Greek, they spoke various dialects, some of which were incomprehensible to the local inhabitants. Many suffered from all the psychological problems of the uprooted: insecurity, nostalgia for their homes, persecution, discrimination, and the like. In general the refugees added to the economic and political instability of the country as well as to the larger problem of social and national integration.

Supported by the new immigrants and in the face of constant political uncertainty, the peacemaker and leader Venizelos made a dramatic political comeback and in 1928 a coalition party of Venizelists and liberals won an overwhelming victory at the polls. Venizelos again became Prime Minister. The second Venizelist administration (1928-1932) was preoccupied with several external and internal problems. Among the latter Venizelos again sought to restructure and reorient Greek education, which, it was widely felt, was anachronistic. The constitution provided for six-year free and compulsory elementary education. But in many parts of the country only four-year elementary schools existed, if at all, and generally the law was not enforced. Illiteracy was increased because of the refugees. In the rural areas it was over 70 per cent, among women it exceeded 90 per cent. At the secondary level, there was dissatisfaction with the middle hellenic schools. The available facilities for non-classical types of instruction and training were limited. Both the hellenic schools and the gymnasia were predominantly literary humanistic in their orientation; and compared to the commercial, technical, or other more practical schools, they enrolled the overwhelming majority of the students. Enrollments among girls were far behind those of boys, and there were glaring regional disparities. Access into the gymnasia and the institutions of higher learning was not well-controlled, nor was it based on achievement criteria. There was a plethora of gymnasium graduates who could not be absorbed by the economy and certain faculties at the university of Athens, e.g., law and theology, combined to be overcrowded.[1]

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[1] For fuller details about education during this period, see E. G. Mears, Greece Today: The Aftermath of the Refugee Impact (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1929), pp. 229 ff. Also see George Sakellarios, "Greece," Educational Yearbook, 1926, edited by I. L. Kandel (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), pp. 228-253.

The 1920's and the Second Venizelist Administration

In a pre-election speech in 1928, Venizelos declared himself in favor of vocational education and the restriction of classical studies to the "selected few" who would be the future leaders of the society. And when he became Prime Minister he urged the people in the rural areas to send their children to technical, vocational and other types of practical schools rather than to the *gymnasia*. Others called for the improvement of elementary education: its universal diffusion and the better preparation of the teachers. George Papandreou, who became Minister of Education in 1930, articulated the social ideals and goals of Greek education as follows:

> Since education belongs to the State it is obvious that it should be the carrier of the mind of the State under whose direction it operates. Consequently the ideals of education are also the ideals of the State. The ideals of our national education are the ideals of Gteek democracy...The ultimate purpose of education is the formation of men...The old aristocratic view of life views intellectual and moral cultivation as the privilege of one class...At the opposite end...stands the exclusive preference for popular (mass) culture... Democracy reconciles these two polarities. It recognizes that no true culture can exist if it is not shared by the popular masses. Therefore, it regards as its goal and moral intellectual elevation of all men. But at the same time, it considers the accomplishment of high culture as its goal and glory...Education is not a profession. It is mainly a mission.[2]

During the period 1929-1932 a series of laws were passed affecting all aspects of the educational system. Two enactments pertained to the structure of elementary and secondary education, the first successful attempt at a reorganization of education since the Bavarian period.

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[2] Excerpts from George Papandreou's speeches during the period 1930-32, as quoted by Ch. Lephas, ed., *To nomothetikon Ergon tou Hypourgeiou Paideias kai Thrēskevmatōn, Hypourgeion G. Papandreou, 1930-1932-, Paideia* (Athēnai: Demētrakos Co., 1932), Vol. II, pp. vi-viii.

The Elementary Law reaffirmed the previous provision of compulsory attendance; it stated that elementary education included schools of general or vocational education; and it defined the purpose of elementary schools as "the elementary preparation of pupils for life and the provision of the basic elements for the formation of good (virtuous) citizens.' The course of studies was to last for six years and the curriculum would include religion, the three R's, history, geography, elements of natural history, physics, chemistry, agriculture and practical life, music, calligraphy, drawing, handicraft and physical education. Night schools (for children who were fourteen years old and had not had the six years of compulsory schooling) were to teach the three R's, exegesis of Sunday's gospel and Acts of the Apostles, national history and geography, and were to provide "the rudiments of vocational knowledge according to local needs."

According to the Secondary Law, the previous hellenic schools were abolished. Henceforth the full secondary course was to extend over six years (following the six-year elementary school), and was to be provided in gymnasia and scientific (practical) lycea. The secondary stage would also include all types of "normal' schools (didaskaleia), semigymnasia, and middle schools for girls. Admission into the secondary schools required successful cpmpletion of the full elementary course and the passing of an entrance examination.

The curriculum of the gymnasia was to include religion, ancient and modern Greek, French, mathematics-cosmography, physics, natural history and chemistry, philosophy, history, geography, music, drawing, calligraphy and handicraft, hygiene, physical education, and Latin as an optional subject.

After the third class (grade 9) a six-year secondary school was to be divided into two sections: classical and practical. The curriculum of two lower classes of the six-year lyceum was to be identical with that of the gymnasium, but in the other classes the emphasis would be on mathematical and scientific studies.

The main purpose of secondary education was defined as "the 'scientific' preparation of those who will follow higher studies. But, the Law added, secondary education "also offers the general education which is necessary for social life, and like elementary education, aims at the formation of good (virtuous) citizens."[3]

The post-1923 decade also witnessed an expansion of commercial education, the establishment of a new university--the University of Salonica--and the growth of the several foreign-sponsored (including many American) educational or quasi-educational enterprises. On the American educational activities in Greece, an observer wrote:

> The American educational and pseudo-educational enterprises in Greece stress the practical features. The schools pay marked attention to agriculture and the industrial trades in order to prepare their pupils for a useful life in their communities. Like the Greek schools they teach cultural subjects, but unlike the Greek schools they pay much greater attention to biology, physics, chemistry, and mathematics than to history and literature.[4]

During the second Venizelist period there was indeed a noticeable decrease in the number of pupils attending secondary general schools (from about 96,000 in 1928 to about 57,000 in 1932). But soon after, the same trend as before continued. The semigymnasia and gymnasia, which were predominantly literary and classical) absorbed the overwhelming proportion of students, while vocational,technical and agricultural schools lagged in both attendance, parental interest, and prestige. In 1938, there were 349 classical gymnasia, 15 lycea, 11 practical "civic" (astica) schools, and 31 commercial schools. Of a total of 78,000 students enrolled in public secondary schools, 68,000 were in the gymnasia, 3,100 in the lycea and only 475 attended the civic schools. All in all, there were 123 technical-vocational schools (agricultural, commercial, industrial, merchant marine, and handicraft schools) with an enrollment of 13,360 pupils.[5] This uneven distribution of enrollments continued after the Second World War and characterized Greek education in the 1950's and 1960's, a characteristic of Greek education which will be discussed more fully later in this chapter. In the meantime, it would be helpful to comment further on the educational picture during the inter-war years.

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[3] The full text of the laws cited above is found in Ch. Lephas, Nomothesia Stoicheiodous Kai Mesēs Ekpaideuseōs (Athēnai: I.D. Kollaros, 1933, Vol. II., pp. 155-193, 409-437.

[4] Mears, op. cit., p. 245.

The 1929 reforms were designed to meet existing deficiencies, to modernize the educational system on the lines of contemporary pedagogical and social thought, and to accomplish certain goals. It was felt that the extension of compulsory popular education to six years would elevate the educational level of the population, especially since the vast majority of the children did not continue their education beyond the elementary school. This arrangement also seemed to be in accord with practices in other countries. The elimination of the hellenic middle school was occasioned by several factors. A major one was that of its twofold function, viz., preparation for life and preparation for the gymnasion, the hellenic school.

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[5] Aee A.A. Pepelasis, "The Image of the Past and Economic Backwardness," Human Organization, Vol. 17 (Winter '58-'59), pp. 20.

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performed solely the latter. Yet only a small minority of its graduates entered the *gymnasion*. The restriction in the number of classical *gymnasia* and the extension of their course to six years were aimed at providing a continuous and adequate type of general academic instruction for the selected intellectual few, the future leaders of the society. Further, it was felt that such a restriction would result in a greater flow of students into practical and/or technical-vocational schools.

In the thought of both Venizelos and Papandreou, two of the moving forces behind the reforms of the period 1929-1932, one detects a rather elitist conception of education in the contemporary European meaning of the term. The classical *gymnasion* was to be the school for the select few, the future leaders. The majority of the pupils would enter technical and vocational schools of shorter duration so that they would get jobs in the productive sectors of the economy. The assumption was that the *gymnasia* would recruit the intellectual elite from all socio-economic strata.

The objectives anticipated by the reformers were not accomplished. As pointed out above, no substantial change in the flow of students into the various types of post-elementary schools took place; students continued to prefer the general *gymnasia* to the practical schools. Recruitment into the *gymnasia* and subsequently into institutions of higher learning was not based solely on achievement criteria. In essence, the social composition of these institutions remained substantially the same; urban, middle and upper classes had more advantages than rural or working classes.

Finally, it is important to point out that the content and orientation of Greek education were not affected by the organizational changes. Schools taught pretty much the same subjects and to the same extent as before; they sought to foster the same attitudes and values; and they were based on the traditional concepts of Hellenism and Christianity.

The Second World War and Its Aftermath

One of the paradoxical aspects of the educational policy under the Metaxas dictatorship (1936-1941) was the encouragement of the demotic language in the schools and in other spheres of intellectual life. During this period, and with government approval, a grammar of the demotic language appeared. But soon after Greece entered the war, a violent reaction again erupted. It was dramatized around the person of Kakridēs, a professor of classical literature at the University of Athens. Kakridēs published a short essay Greek Classical Education' in which he argued that classical learning as taught in the schools had the opposite effects upon the education of the students from those expected. Students were unable to enter the spirit of the ancients because of the undue emphasis given to form, grammar, and language. Further, he maintained that the modern Greeks should cease to worship and emulate the ancients as absolute models. He urged that modern Greek civilization should seek to establish its own identity using the classical tradition as one of several sources, not least being the modern popular tradition. To do so, he concluded, language teaching in the schools must be revised. The study of the demotic should be extended, and such nonfunctional remnants as accents should be eliminated. The views of Kakridēs created pandemonium. The School of Philosophy of the University conducted hearings at which Kakridēs was asked to apologize and recant his views. Kakridēs refused. His case was then presented to the Senate and then to the disciplinary committee of the university. At the same time a report was sent to the Ministry of Education. A 'trial was held and Kakridēs was suspended from his chair for two months. He resigned from his post and subsequently was appointed to a similar position at the University of Salonica. Under the government of George Papandreou in the 1960's he was appointed President of the newly established Pedagogical Institute. With the dissolution of the Institute after the 1967 coup d'etat he went back to his post at the University of Salonica. In 1968 he resigned in protest against the dismissal of professors by the military government.

The persecution and trial of Kakridēs were reminiscent of the attack and trial of Delmouzos discussed in the previous chapter. Again the question of language was at the center of the dispute. Again it had wider ramifications. Kakridēs was branded as leftist, radical, trouble-maker, even a communist sympathizer. He was undermining the basic foundations of the nation: language, the classical tradition, the holy and unquestioned patrimony.[6]

Chief among Kakridēs' opponents was Exarchopoulos, professor of pedagogy at the university, a former teacher of Kakridēs, and the same man who was also prominent in the reactions against demoticism earlier in the century. Exarchopoulos continued to dominate pedagogy in the University of Athens, which turned out all gymnasium teachers until the 1950's.

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[6] The proceedings of the trial, together with the various memoranda and decisions of the School, the Senate, the Disciplinary Committee and the Ministry of Education, were reprinted in book form. See _He Dikē tōn Tonōn_ (Athēnai: I. D. Kollaros, n.d.).

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Exarchopoulos represented the traditional concept of educational culture discussed in the preceding chapters. In 1945 when the country was liberated from the Germans, he called for a "radical transformation and "reorientation" of the educational system. Among other things, he suggested the extension of compulsory elementary education to eight years, the establishment of a network of different types of post-elementary schools, including technical and vocational ones, vocational guidance, provision for the handicapped, further education, and improvement of teacher training. He also called for better methods of teaching (i.e., the introduction of such things as unified instruction), improvement of examinations, better textbooks and the like. Yet Exarchopoulos contended that the general humanistic *gymnasion* should remain highly selective and the dominant type of secondary education. And in defining the ideals and aims of Greek education he reiterated the well-known Greek homilies: love of country and national ideals, "the religion of our fathers," and the ethnic traditions. Moreover, according to Exarchopoulos, the schools should seek to eradicate the prevailing individualism" of the Greek culture and the propensities toward materialism. In short, one finds few, if any, novel ideas that would transform the basis of Greek education, namely, the Greek educational culture.[7]

Post-war Deficiencies and Anachronisms

The educational dislocation and destruction of the Second World War was soon followed by equally devastating Civil War. By 1950, over 70 percent of the school buildings were either totally or partially destroyed or turned into ramshackle abodes of owls and bats;" 90 percent of school equipment was lost; 7 percent of the teachers were killed or died of starvation; about half of the entire teacher corps was incapacitated or absent; and thousands of children were left orphans, sick, or emotionally disturbed. Continued political and economic instability created administrative chaos and general pedagogical confusion. Observers -- foreign and domestic -- found education deficient by reason of 'antiquated methods," inadequacies in the training of teachers, tight political control, hidebound curricula, and high wastage or drop-outs. Educational and social stability and advancement were further hindered by the problem of "diglossy," by lack of opportunities, by regional and educational imbalances, and by the fact that what the schools taught had little, if any, relation to the conditions of modern Greek life. In 1948, a team of Americans writing on behalf of the Twentieth Century Fund, found general intellectual stagnation, an indiscriminate emulation of the West and an arid attachment to the past. "Most Greeks of the cultivated circles, they wrote, "suffer from a haunting sense of the present inferiority of the nation compared with the past ages of its glory. One manifestation of this feeling is an exaggerated nationalism; another is a pathetic effort to adopt the latest styles of thought, dress or custom in Paris or New York."[8]

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[7] See N. I. Exarchopoulos, *Pros Anamorphōsin tes Hellēnikēs Ekpaideuseōs* (Athēnai: Petros Dēmētrakos, 1945).

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[8] Frank Smother, et. al, Report on the Greeks: Findings of a Twentieth Century Fund Team Which Surveyed Conditions in Greece in 1947 (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1948), pp. 134-135.

One of the major tasks of the governments after the cessation of both wars was to rehabilitate the system. By 1951, over 95 percent of the elementary school children were back in some sort of school, and 183,570, the highest number ever recorded, attended secondary schools. However, the rehabilitation of the ststem did not eliminate what were felt to be fundamental weaknesses. Criticisms were voiced against virtually every aspect of the educational system and numberous proposals for reconstruction were made. In 1951 under another liberal government, a new plan for the organization of education was put forward. It called for the elimination of all gymnasia and semi-gymnasia, and the division of secondary education into two cycles: a three-year gymnasion (grades 7-9) followed by a three-year lyceum consisting of two streams (classical and practical-scientific).[9] Because of swift changes in the government and proposals remained on paper.

Criticisms and dissatisfaction continued. Although elementary education was compulsory, a large number of pupils did not complete the entire course. (Of those entering the first grade, only about 1/3 managed to reach the sixth). About 60 percent of elementary schools were one-room, one teacher establishments. Only about 45-48 percent of elementary-school graduates continued their education in some form of secondary school; and about 30 percent of secondary-school graduates entered institutions of higher learning. Of the yearly intake into the gymnasia, less than half graduated. In 1951, of a total of 234,000 students enrolled in post-elementary (secondary) schools, only about 25,000 or about 10 percent attended technical schools. In 1956-57, the general distribution was as follows: 203,000 in the general _gymnasia_, 9,330 in the commercial _gymnasia_, about 25,000 in lower and upper secondary technical schools, about 5,000 in lower and upper secondary commercial schools, 2,192 in agricultural schools, and about 10,000 in others (home economics, fine arts, etc.). In short, only about 25 percent of students attending secondary schools received some sort of education other than that provided in the general classical _gymnasia_, and a much smaller percentage, full-time education.[10]

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[9] See E. P. Papanoutsos, "Schedule of an Educational Reform," Paideia, Vol. 5 (August-September, 1951), p. 317.

Imbalances existed on several other indicators: urban-rural, Athens versus the rest of the country, regional, and on the basis of socio-economic status. Although fees were minimal, living costs, books, and other small items barred village children from attending gymnasia, all of which were located in cities or towns. Attending universities presented more severe hardships.

The picture is familiar to students of comparative education. But in few other countries does one observe the rather monolithic structure that characterized Greek education in the early 1950's. In this connection, it will be instructive to comment further on one crucial aspect of Greek education, namely the _gymnasion_.

The Gymnasion

In its nature, scope, and functions the Greek _gymnasion_ may be regarded as a member of the European family which has boasted of the

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[10] See Kingdom of Greece, National Statistical Service, _Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1957_ (Athens: National Prinitng Office, 1957), pp. 128-147.

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French *lycée*, the English Grammar school, and the German *Gymnasium*. [~~It's closest analogue in Turkey is the *lise*.~~] As noted elsewhere in this study, the gymnasion was introduced into Greece by the Bavarians under King Otto and it was infused with the Bavarian neo-classical humanism. In the course of time, it epitomized the Greek conception of a liberal education, and it sought to instil the humanistic, religious, and national ideals as interpreted in the modern Greek nation. In essence humanism was defined almost exclusively as Greek classical literary education.

Socially, the *gymnasion* conferred status and prestige; it controlled access into the universities and the professions, and it dominated the secondary level of education. (About 75 percent of students were enrolled in public and private *gymnasia*.) The curriculum was uniform, heavily academic, heavily literary, and heavily classical. (See Table I) Of the total weekly hours, 30 percent were devoted to classics (Greek and Latin), 24 percent to Classical Greek, 30 percent to Greek (ancient and modern), 46 percent to literary-linguistic studies, and 65 percent to the humanities. Less than 9 percent of the hours were spent on science, and less than 20 percent on science and mathematics. Eighty-five percent of the school's subjects were academically oriented. The content was heavily oriented to the past. The ancient past received more attention than the Byzantine and both, more than the modern and the contemporary. In the study of ancient Greek and Latin, the emphasis was on Grammar, syntax, and form; in short, the main aim was to learn the logic and structure of the language rather than the ideas and spirit conveyed through it. There was greater stress on some ancient

TABLE I

PROGRAM OF STUDIES OF SIX-YEAR GYMNASIUM WITH HOURS ALLOTTED PER SUBJECT

Subject	Class hours by grades per week						
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	Total
1. Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
2. Ancient Greek	8	8	8	9	9	9	51
3. Modern Greek	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
4. Latin	-	-	3	3	3	3	12
5. French	4	3	3	3	2	2	17
6. History	3	3	3	3	2	4	18
7. Mathematics, Cosmography	3	4	3	3	4	5	22
8. Science	3	3	3	3	3	4	19
9. Geography	2	2	2	1	1	-	8
10. Home Economics (Only in Gymnasia for girls)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11. Hygiene	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
12. Handicrafts	2	2	1	1	1	-	7
13. Music (singing)	2	2	1	1	-	-	6
14. Philosophy	-	-	-	-	2	2	4
15. Physical Education	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Total Class Hours (per seek)	35	35	35	35	36	37	213

authors and less or none on others.[11]

In the postwar years, particularly in the 1950's, the gymnasion became the center of controversy. It was felt that its central educational and social position was a major factor in stifling technical or other forms of practical education. The majority of students gravitated into the gymnasion which was tied to the entrance requirements of the universities. Yet only about 30 percent of the gymnasion graduates managed to enter institutions of higher learning. The rest, ranging from 12,000 to 18,000 sought immediate employment. In this they encountered difficulties. The most preferred occupations (clerical and civil service) were saturated; and in some cases pull was needed. Further, for such limited opportunities, the gymnasion graduates had to compete with about 2,000 others who dropped out of higher institutions. Another problem was created by the fact that the orientation of gymnasion students had been away from manual or technical careers. So when they entered the labor market, they were not equipped with the necessary skills, or with the appropriate mental outlook. The result of all these factors was that a large number of gymnasion graduates and drop-outs was either unemployed or underemployed.

The gymnasion was also criticized on pedagogical and ideological grounds. The curriculum, described above, was hidebound and formal. The Helleno-Christian ideology was an impressive and weighty ideal. But in the minds of many it often degenerated into an empty shibboleth, or was exploited by certain groups to perpetuate vested interests. Hellenism and Christianity were not clearly defined, and they did not provide concrete plans or policies for educational change. At best, they were not sufficient. "Of course, we want our schools to turn out 'Greeks' and 'Christians,'" Papanoutsos wrote, "but this is not sufficient...we must also see to it that our youth are 'enlightened' on the big problems of the contemporary world, and that they are equipped for the hard struggle of life."[12] Related to this issue was the concept of humanism and humanistic education. Here again, although a noble and high-sounding ideal espoused by everybody, it often was used as a catchall to perpetuate a heavily classical, literary, and to some an arid type of training.

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[11] For the program of studies in the gymnasion and the distribution of subjects, see Vasileion tēs Hellados, Hypourgeion Thrēskevmatōn kai Ethnikēs Paideias, Programmata Analytika kai Hōrologia Didakteas Hylēs (Athēnai: Ethnikon Typographeion, 1955).

Recognizing a widely held view that the educational system must be modernized in order to meet the demands of the changing economy and polity, the government in 1957 appointed a special committee to make a comprehensive study of the system and to propose guidelines for change. In 1958, the Committee on Education, as it came to be known, presented a report which signalled the beginning of a series of legislative enactments and controversies unparalleled in the history of modern Greek education. The ferment for educational reform culminated in the now famous Papandreou scheme of 1964.

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[12] E. P. Papanoutsos, Agōnes kai Agōnia Yia tēn Paideia (Athēnai: Ikaros, 1965), p. 23.

CHAPTER V

THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE KARAMANLĒS REFORMS

The shortcomings and inadequacies of the system were brought to the fore by publicists, educators, and political leaders who had shown particular interest in educational problems. Since the end of the war, several proposals for change were made in journals, newspapers, at public meetings, and in parliament. By 1957, when the Committee on Education was appointed, almost all who spoke about education and particularly those who counted felt that the existing situation needed drastic re-examination. Reform was in the air.

Following the Committee's report, particularly in the 1960's, the clamor for change reached a high crescendo. During this "second phase", previous factors acquired greater significance and new ones were added. Of the highest importance was the performance of the Greek economy, particularly the manufacturing industries. Low production was attributed in part to technological inefficiencies and to the low educational level of the labor force. This was brought to the attention of policy makers and educators through a barrage of studies, reports, and economic development plans. Manpower studies, in turn, produced estimates of anticipated total manpower needs in the various occupational categories. To educational reformers one of the messages of these economic considerations -- hammered further by economists -- was that something must be done with technical and vocational education.

The need to strengthen this aspect of education was felt earlier than the appearance of the economic literature. It was even expressed by the staunchest classicists. But the economic literature taken within the context of development, Greece's association with the European Economic Community, and international competition, considerably reinforced the urgency of the problem. Technical training was for all intents and purposes outside the mainstream of the educational system. It was largely provided through private initiative, in evening classes, or through several ministries. In the main, it was outside the functions of the Ministry of Education.

All reform proposals and plans paid particular attention to technical and vocational training as a major educational implication of economic development. Where and how it should be provided raised some questions, but in general it was felt that such training was the responsibility of formal institutions. Clearly, however, bringing technical education within the system as a whole raised questions as to what its relationship was going to be to general education. There were variations in the several plans, and these will be described below. But in all of them the two types of education were viewed as substitutes rather than as complementary.

Economic development considerations also provided further support for the expansion of educational provision -- whether, for example, six years of compulsory schooling was sufficient for agricultural and industrial growth -- and for the revision of the curriculum. In its Report on Greece, O.E.C.D.'s Mediterranean Regional Project put it as follows:

> It is useless to enroll vast numbers of young people in schools unless the education they acquire is relevant to modern life. The curricula should be designed to create a wide cultural outlook which, though linked to

> traditional values, would ensure an understanding of modern life and create the intellectual flexibility required in an era of rapid social change. They should be balanced and co-ordinated, not only as regards the relative proportions of specialised and general studies, but also as between the different levels of education.[1]

Development and manpower plans of necessity set up global educational estimates and their recommendations--- as the one cited above -- do not provide clear-cut directives for school change. Moreover, they seem to regard the educational system as a malleable and manipulable institution. Educational reform must ultimately enlist the support and enthusiasm of those most directly involved with educational matters. In Greece, this responsibility has been largely in the hands of educational "experts", university professors, and some political leaders. The ideological orientation of such people has depended to an equally large part on the political and institutional interests they represent.

The Committee on Education (1957-1958)

What has been said in the last paragraph above is clearly illustrated by the composition of this famous committee. Of the eleven members: five were professors at the University of Athens, one was the president-elect of the University of Salonica, one was the president of the Athens National Polytechnic, and one the director of Marasleios Pedagogical Academy; that is, eight were members of the academic community. The committee also included a member of parliament, an honorary member of the

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[1] Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, The Mediterranean Regional Project - Greece (Paris: OECD, 1965), p. 33. Hereafter cited as M.R.P. Report.

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Higher Educational Council, and E. P. Papanoutsos, philosopher, teacher, educational critic, and publicist. The Committee allegedly was nonpartisan and representative of various segments of educational opinion. Except for Papanoutsos, however, all other members belonged to a rather conservative wing. The power of the University of Athens is evident. Two of the five members were known staunch classicists and purists. There were no economists, no business representatives, and no schoolmen of any kind.

General Principles

The members of the Committee agreed upon certain general principles which formed the conceptual basis of their recommendations. First, top priority should be given to the improvement of education "for upon the good and productive functioning of the educational institutions depends not only the promotion of 'intellectual civilization' but also the economic development of the country, and therefore the future of our people." The economic and political significance of education was underscored as follows: "Without good education our national income cannot be increased, nor can our social welfare and stability be ensured." Second, the State, without further delay, should "demonstrate its interest by generously offering all the necessary economic means for the support of education and by mobilizing all its resources for educational growth and productivity." The State should not be parsimonious in its spending but must indeed find, as soon as possible, the necessary financial resources, "so that the country will acquire sufficient and well-equipped school buildings as well as qualified and well-paid teachers." Third, the existing pattern of school organization and the curriculum, which dated as far back as 1929 and in some respects 1911, needed to be modernized, for they were not in accord with the newly-created needs and social demands. Once again the Committee stressed the economic ramifications of this aspect of education when it noted that thousands of young people were coming out of school every year without possessing the necessary theoretical and practical skills for "productive work". This was felt to be partly the result of the neglect of technical and vocational education. Accordingly, a fourth principle was that such a type of education should be strengthened. The fact that thousands of young people every year entered the labor market without any specialized vocational preparation should be of great concern for it created serious dangers "for the economic condition of the country as well as our social stability." A fifth principle was what may be called the "democratization" of education. In democratic countries such as Greece studies of longer duration should not be the privilege of the few, those who have the economic means. For political, social, and economic reasons, and for the well-being of all, the special talents of the able children of the masses must be recognized and fully developed. Hence the State must provide sufficient financial assistance for talented needy youth to enable them to secure an education commensurate with their abilities and inclinations. Finally, the Committee reaffirmed that the humanisitc ideal, inspired by the Hellenic and Christian spirit, should constitute the foundation of Greek education. It continued:

> ...its [education's] purpose will be to give to society young men and women who have free convictions, are inspired by high ideals, are faithful to God and country (Fatherland--patris), love their neighbor, and, in their own person as well as in that of others, honor "man" as the crowning point of creation.

"Motivated (directed) by this noble ideal," the Committee went on,"the Greek school should give a prominent place in its curriculum to the benefits of 'classical' education, not in the narrow but in the broader sense of the term." It elaborated:

> ...the benefits of classical education do not only include the priceless, for the mind, treasures of the works of the ancient Greek authors, but also mathematics and science in which the Greek intellect has excelled... Since mathematics are the basis of the physical sciences... there is no opposition between classical education and the positive sciences...

Particular attention should be paid to the "continuity of the Nation during its long historical course." Through education, "Hellenism" should become a viable concept in the students' conscience. But students should be taught that there are three forms of Hellenism -- ancient, medieval (Byzantine), and modern -- differentiated by particular characteristics.[2]

The Organization of the Educational System

The Committee endorsed the six-year compulsory elementary schools as the common base of the educational pyramid. It was pointed out that at the time not all children between the age of 6-12 were able to receive complete elementary education (of the total number of pupils--about 180,000--entering the first grade, at least one-third did not complete the six-year course); classes were overcrowded (in some cases there were as many as 100 pupils in a classroom); there was a serious shortage of elementary school teachers; and as many as 50% of the elementary schools were monotaxia, i.e., one-room establishments with one teacher for all classes.

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[2] Porismata Epitropes Paideias, June 24, 1957-January 10, 1958 (Athens, 1958), pp. 20-23. Hereafter cited as Porismata.

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A major concern of the Committee was secondary education. The six-year gymnasion, which dominated this level of education, was criticized as being a "monolithic" type of school. For a long time the pride of the Greek educational system, the academic gymnasion with its humanistic (meaning largely classical) emphasis could no longer meet all the demands of the changing Greek society. The gymnasion stifled any significant growth in scientific, technical or vocational education. It forced large numbers of students, who did not possess the ability to continue their studies in higher institutions, to pursue the school-leaving certificate. The consequence of this was that as many as 50% of those entering gymnasia dropped out after the second or third year (grades 8 or 9). Further, there was an overabundance of gymnasion graduates who were not able to enter higher institutions. This resulted in what one member of the Committee called "an intellectual proletariat". And generally the standards of secondary education suffered because of the increasing numbers of students who found themselves in the gymnasia, but who did not possess the requisite intellectual competence.

To obviate these anomalies, the Committee proposed that secondary education be organized into two three-year self-contained cycles of gymnasion studies. The first cycle was to be known as pro-gymnasion (grades 7-9). It would be open to graduates of the elementary school, who had passed a "lenient examination" in Greek and mathematics. One of the purposes would be the completion of elementary general education, i.e., the widening of intellectual horizons and the strengthening of religious and moral training. Another purpose would be the provision of the necessary preparatory schooling for higher studies in the second cycle and for the various middle-level occupations. The second cycle would be highly selective and differentiated. Admission into it would depend on the successful completion of the pro-gymnasion course and the passing of a "stringent examination". It was to consist of four main types of schools: (a) classical gymnasia (ultimately numbering 200) with emphasis on "literary and historical studies"; (b) twenty classical gymnasia stressing mathematics and the physical sciences; (c) twenty lycea emphasizing modern foreign languages; and (d) ten evening gymnasia and/or lycea for students employed during the day.

In its conception of the scope of secondary education the Committee also included "Vocational" education of various kinds. It repudiated the narrow definition, namely, that vocational education denoted special technical training in the performance of certain vocational skills. Instead, it proposed technical preparation (theoretical and practical) and a broad general education as its constituent elements. Vocational education, thus interpreted, was to be regarded as a type of paideia, for its technical component "requires intellectual effort and promotes intellectual creativity." The State should continue to encourage private initiative, which hitherto was largely responsible for vocational education. At the same time, however, for economic reasons (general economic growth), as well as for "individual success", it is incumbent upon the State to coordinate and expand this form of education.

The Committee recommended that no vocational training be given in the elementary schools because it was too early in a child's life and because it would jeopardize elementary general education. Three main types of vocational schools were proposed: (a) "lower vocational", for graduates of elementary schools, to train skilled laborers and lower-level technicians, masons, carpenters, tailors, etc.; (b) "middle vocational," for graduates of pro-gymnasia, to train middle-level technicians -- electro-technicians, contractors, weavers, nurse assistants, bookkeepers, etc.; and (c) "higher vocationsl", for graduates of the gymnasia, lycea, and "middle vocational" schools, to train radio technicials, accountants, social workers, nurses, and the like. For working youths over the age of 14, the Committee recommended that vocational technical training be provided by industries through a system of apprenticeship combined with one-day-a-week attendance at schools attached to factories. For graduates of elementary schools in at least 100 rural communities, one-year general agricultural courses were proposed. Lastly, creation of a unified system of administration, supervision, and control under the Ministry of Education was stressed.[3]

Turning to higher education,[4] the Committee recommended the founding of a third university. This would be accomplished in stages beginning with the establishment of "theoretical" branches or "faculties". A third university was deemed necessary for the general intellectual development of the country, particularly the promotion of scientific research. The Committee called for the expansion of existing departments in the setting up of new departments under the existing faculties, e.g., (a) departments of German, similar to those of English and French, in the faculty of philosophy, (b) departments of statistics in the faculties of physics and mathematics, (c) post-graduate training programs in the faculties of theology for priests-theologians who intended to minister to Greek communities overseas, and (d) increase in the number of professorships in the departments of political and economic sciences of the faculties of law. The Committee felt that an "office of international relations" should be established in the two universities and the national polytechnic, whose purpose would be the cultivation of scholarly contacts with other higher institutions abroad. It would publish annually a report on "the educational and original works" by the Greek institutions and their program of studies which would also be translated into foreign languages. Certain other minor changes were recommended concerning the internal administration and general operation of higher institutions. And the Government was urged to continue its support of higher education, indeed to increase it substantially so that buildings, workships, classrooms, hospitals, clinics, libraries, residence halls, recreation halls and the like would be extended and improved.[5]

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[3] Ibid, pp. 23-28.

[4] The term higher education encompassed the two existing universities (Athens and Salonica), the National Polytechnic, the Higher School of Economics and Business Sciences, the Panteios Higher School of Political Sciences, and the Higher School of Agriculture. The Pedagogical Academies (elementary teacher training schools), the higher vocational-technical schools and the military academies were not included.

The Curriculum

The Committee on Education called for a revision of the curriculum of all levels of education. Elementary studies, according to it, should center "in national and religious training according to the principles of the Greek (Hellenic) and Christian traditions." Further:

> The knowledge provided should be of an 'essential' as well as practical nature and should be acquired not through passive memorization, but through self-activity and critical thinking; the intellectual world of the elementary school should be rooted in the immediate

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[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-31.

> physical and social environment of the child, and it should be in close relationship to the national folklore (songs, dances, tales, customs, ethnic art, etc.); and the content of the curriculum should reflect the demands of contemporary society.

On the sensitive language question, the majority view was that the **demotic** (free of dialectal idioms) should be "the language of the elementary school." However, the Committee also recommended that, in fifth and sixth grade readers, "texts" written in the "simplified Katharevousa" should also be included. The grammar of this latter pure form was not to te taught, "systematically." In general, according to the Committee, "the teacher should try to instill in the conscience of the child the conviction that the official language of the state (the Katharevousa) and the popular language (the demotic), which is also the language of literature, are equivalent branches of the same national tree-trunk and their differentiation is due to the long history and the rich intellectual heritage of the nation."[6]

In secondary schools, the Committee went on, more attention should be paid to the "spirit of classical learning" rather than the form; more time should be spent and more material covered in the teaching of mathematics; modern languages (French and English, in particular) should be strengthened; and students should be trained to express their ideas with "correctness, logic, and clarity". For the first cycle of studies, the pro-gymnasion, the following recommendations were made:

> 1. Religion: Teaching should in the main be based on the Bible, the Acts of the Apostles and the Church hymns.
>
> 2. Modern Greek: The pure form (katharevousa) should be taught methodically through grammar and syntax...In the readers, aside from texts in the katharevousa, texts from recognized authors of modern Greek literature should be included so that students will cultivate the demotic language.

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[6] Ibid., pp. 39-40.

3. Ancient Greek: Opinion was divided. The majority proposed that ancient Greek should start from the first class (grade 7). The minority opinion was that such teaching should be restricted to those who intend to continue their studies in the second cycle or opt for it. The others should study the ancient texts in translation and devote their extra time to practical subjects, e. g., agriculture or handicrafts.[7]

4. Modern Foreign Language: French or English.

5. Citizenship Education: Basic rights and duties of the Greek citizens to be taught in the third class (grade 9). Two members (both from the University of Athens) held the view that this should not be a separate subject.

6. Geography: No specific recommendations except that it should be part of the curriculum.

7. Handicrafts, music, the study of the local environment and physical education.

For the classical *gymnasia* of the second cycle, the Committee suggested that some relaxation be made on the amount of formal classwork devoted to such major subjects as ancient and modern Greek and mathematics, so that students will have greater freedom to work on their own. On the specific subjects for the literary classical *gymnasia* it recommended that:

1. Religious instruction be mainly on the texts of the New Testament (especially the Epistles of St. Paul), on Church authors, and hymnography.

2. The teaching of French or English be strengthened.

3. Ancient Greek be taught from original and complete texts (not excerpts). It should concentrate on great authors, e.g., Homer, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Plato, Sophocles.

4. Likewise, modern Greek works of literature be taught in their complete version. It should concentrate on established authors not the very recent ones. In connection with the teaching of modern Greek literature, the two forms of the language should be studied.

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[7] It is important to note that the first position was held by all the members from the University of Athens).

5. In the highest class (grade 12) a general review of the entire Greek national literary tradition should be taught.

6. Latin be included in all classes.

7. Mathematics and physics be strengthened, and elements of advanced algebra, analytic geometry, etc., be added.

8. In the higher classes elements of economics and law be included and taught by a law specialist.

9. Under philosophy, psychology be taught in the 11th grade, and in the 12th, logic and history of the major philosophical systems, especially the Greek.

10. In the history course, general history of art (ancient, Byzantine and modern) more attention be given.

And these, of course, did not include geography, drawing, music, and physical education.

All of these recommendations would apply to the scientific gymnasia, except that the classical content would be restricted and the mathematico-scientific increased. In the lycea, Latin would be dropped and the hours for modern foreign languages (at least two) would be increased.[8]

Technical and vocational schools should not only train the young for particular vocations; they should also provide for their religious, humanistic and "political" (citizenship) upbringing. The products of these schools should be well-equipped workers and good Greek citizens. To accomplish this task, their curriculum, in addition to the special vocational subjects, should include religion, Greek, mathematics and civics (citizenship training).

As to higher education, the Committee emphasized that its two characteristics are (a) research and the general promotion of scholarship,

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[8] Ibid., pp. 45-49.

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and (b) the training of scholars (scientists), i.e., self-contained men who are able "to apply the conclusions (findings) of their discipline to life and promote (develop) their fields of study." (p. 64). Higher studies should aim at education "in depth." This means that the number of subjects (courses) taken by students should be relatively small. Only those indispensable as foundation subjects for more specialized work should be included in the requirements, plus one subject of general education (e.g., philosophy, literature, or history). In addition, special care should be taken in all institutions so that all students should learn adequately at least one modern foreign language. This would not only broaden their intellectual horizons, it would give them a valuable tool to follow developments in their discipline.

The Training of Teachers

The Committee stressed that the training of elementary and secondary school teachers was in need of improvement. Teachers were poorly paid and few. The State should satisfy "the teachers' just and reasonable salary requests."

It was felt that the existing two-year course in the pedagogical academies, which followed a full six-year *gymnasion*, was sufficiently long for elementary school teachers. There should be greater job security for and improvement in the training of the teaching staff of the pedagogical academies; the salary scale of those teaching educational subjects (e.g., methods of teaching, educational psychology and philosophy of education) should be the same as that of the others; and the preparation of these latter members of the staff should be upgraded. It was recommended that holders of a doctorate be appointed as professors of education; that one of the members of the faculty hold a degree in mathematics (such as

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individual would also be responsible for methods of teaching mathematics and physics); that elements of the history of philosophy be introduced as a subject; and that a new professorship in ancient, medieval and modern Greek literature be established.[9]

There seemed to be greater concern with the training of secondary school teachers. This became particularly complicated because of the division of studies into two cycles. Three viewpoints were expressed. The majority opinion was that teachers of both cycles (pro-gymnasia and gymnasia or lycea) should have the same preparation, salary, and promotion scales. All holders of the same certificate or degree would be appointed to schools of the first cycle, and after a certain period plus the passing of examinations, they would be promoted to positions in the second cycle. A second view was that the secondary school teaching staff should be divided into two categories: (a) second-degree teachers for the pro-gymnasia, but teachers to be educated in special departments of the faculties of philosophy, theology, and physics-mathematics for a period of three years; and (b) first-degree teachers for the gymnasia and lycea, who would receive the normal four-year education in the aforementioned faculties. Second-degree teachers, according to this view, in addition to their area of specialization, should be prepared to teach related subjects (for example, a teacher of literature would teach religion, a theologian Greek or history, and a physics teacher would teach mathematics and geography), and even such subjects as foreign languages, music and art. If they wished to be reclassified, such teachers would be required to attend the respective faculty for another year and receive the appropriate diploma (degree). A third view, held by only one member of the Committee, was that the training of all secondary school teachers should be the same, and should be acquired in the respective university faculties. All teachers, however, would be required to have preparation in one additional subject such as foreign language, music, and art.

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[9] Ibid., pp. 42-43.

Secondary school teachers, the Committee continued, should have sufficient professional training, including methods of teaching of the particular subject. Such teaching should have theoretical and practical components, the latter in experimental or other types of schools. An examination would be given at the end of professional education, and a special "title" or "certificate" be issued. All members except one expressed the wish that two "Institutes of Education" be established at the universities of Athens and Salonica. The purposes of these university-level establishments would be to conduct research into problems of education, particularly as they are manifested in Greece, to keep abreast of international educational movements, and to provide special training for educational personnel. Finally, it was recommended that in-service training (six months to a year) be organized for all teachers.[10]

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[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 54-57.

Reactions to the Report

The report of the Committee on Education evoked considerable comment, both laudatory and critical. The powerful School of Philosophy of the University of Athens and the Association of Greek Philologists[11] bitterly denounced what they termed "an attack on the classical gymnasion," and what they felt was an undermining of the Helleno-Christian humanistic tradition. They recognized that there was a need for the strengthening of technical and vocational education, but this should be done without in any way affecting the supremacy of the classical pattern.

Another organization that spoke strongly against the report was the Christian Social Circle. In a special memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister, the Minister of National Education, and the Parliament, this group of right wing intellectuals was particularly critical of the Committee's views on the language question. The language of the Greek schools, the Christian Social Circle emphasized, must be that which is provided in article 107 of the 1952 Constitution, namely, the simplified Katharevousa. The Committee's recommendation to establish parity of the two linguistic forms (the demotic and Katharevousa), and to abolish the teaching of the grammar of the pure form in elementary schools was "equivalent to the unconstitutional and antinational ostracization of the official language of the State from its education system, with the result that 85% of the Greek people who do not go the gymnasia will be estranged from even the language of newspapers." In addition to being the medium of official transactions and scientific treatises, and approximately 4/5 of the newspapers, Katharevousa is close to the language of the Bible and the divine liturgy (something of special significance for the Greek people) and "Generally it is the language which links the nation to its glorious history and traditions."

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[11] The Association of Greek Philologists devoted a special issue of its journal Platon to a critique of the Committee's conclusions. See "The Problem of Education: The Views of the Association of Greek Philologists on the Conclusions of the Committee on Education," Platōn, Special Issue, 1958.

The Christian Social Circle also criticized the Report's recommendation of secondary reorganization (it would have been better if elementary education were extended to eight years, or secondary education organized into three-year lower schools and four-year gymnasia and practical lycea); the neglect of mathematics and physics in the revised curriculum; the differentiated preparation of secondary school teachers; and what it felt was a narrow conception of vocational education.[12]

Similar views were expressed by K. D. Geōrgoulēs, well-known Greek scholar and General secretary of the Ministry of Education in the previous government of General Papagos, and at the time Director of the Secondary School Teacher Training College. At a meeting of the Christian Circle, attended by members of the Committee, members of the Supreme Educational Council, political leaders including P. Kanellopoulos and St. Stephanopoulos, and the general secretary of the Association of Secondary School Teachers, Geōrgoulēs criticized the composition of the Committee, the ideological underpinnings of the Report, and its provisions concerning language, the organization of schools, higher education and vocational education. Geōrgoulēs said that he had declined an invitation by the Minister of Education to be a member of the Committee because, among other reasons, he did not consider the setting up of a Committee as the best way to investigate the deficiencies of the educational system and to advise the government.

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[12] National Education: Speeches and Conclusions of the Christian Circle, 2nd edition (Athens, 1967), pp. 8-12.

He favored the mechanism of the existing Supreme Educational Council. As to the substance of his criticisms, Geōrgoulēs found the Committee's concept of humanism (anthrōpismos) unclear and incomplete: it did not include physical culture, nor did it explicitly assert the value of the combined "Helleno-Christian" ideal. His views about language and reorganization of schools were identical to those of the Christian Social Circle (indeed the latter borrowed from Geōrgoulēs). He rejected the Committee's recommendations concerning "lenient" and "stringent" examinations at the end of the first and second cycles respectively. "There are no lenient and strict examinations," Geōrgoulēs said, "but only fair examinations conducted according to well-established procedures." He also criticized the proposal that the study of ancient Greek in the pro-gymnasion be supplemented by the use of translations of the Greek classics. "Authentic translations," according to Geōrgoulēs, "present only the skeleton of concepts and deprive the text of its educational and aesthetic value." Further, they do not cultivate proper judgment. Incidentally, Geōrgoulēs also noted that similar views concerning translations had from time to time been espoused by "nationally suspect movements" which sought to destroy national solidarity. Finally, he felt that in its discussion of vocational and technical education the Committee ignored two fundamental principles, namely, vocational guidance and the "study of vocations," meaning the relationship between vocational education and the broader occupational life.[13]

Reactions to the Report were made by representatives of the Association of Secondary School Teachers(Ο.Λ.M.E.) and the Teachers' Association.

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[13] A. D. Georgoulēs, A Speech on the Conclusions of the Committee on Education (Athens, John Sideris, n.d.), reprinted in National Education, op. cit., pp. 2-38.

P. Dorbadakēs, the general secretary of O.Λ.M.E., criticized the division of secondary studies into two three-year self-contained cycles. The Committee's assumption that this reorganization would alleviate the problem of the unemployed *gymnasion* graduate was false. Such unemployment was not due to the school structure, but to job opportunities (there were too few jobs in the agricultural and the industrial sectors). The three-year division would have deleterious effects on the level of education of secondary school graduates. On the language question, Dorbadakēs adopted a moderate course. Both forms, according to him, should be taught in the elementary and secondary schools. The difference between O.Λ.M.E.'s views and those of the Committee was that in the elementary schools the *Katharevousa* should be taught systematically in the two upper grades. And on vocational-technical education, he felt that no significant step forward was made by the Committee: it did not consider probable occupations in the next ten to twenty years on the basis of the growth of the Greek economy and the existing government development plans, and it did not make estimates of needed expenditures.[14]

E. P. Asēmakopoulos, president of the Teacher's Association, commented that some members of the Committee had never been involved in education and therefore they were not aware of its demands and needs, and he criticized the fact that the membership did not include representatives from the teachers' associations. He felt that in the upper elementary grades (fifth and sixth) the language instruction should be that of the country's press, i.e., the mixed language or simple *Katharevousa*. As with the representative of O. M.E., Asēmakopoulos held a middle-of-the-road position. He was critical of both the "progressives" who favored the demotic as the language of elementary schools and those who wanted an archaic Katharevousa bordering on the ancient Attic dialect.[15]

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[14] P. Dorbadakēs, "The Conclusions of the Committee of Education," *Ibid*., pp. 130-134.

The Committee on Education: A Commentary

It has already been pointed out that the composition of the Committee left much to be desired. The absence of teacher representatives or educational practioners is difficult to justify. Further, one of the Committee's major concerns was the educational demands of techno-economic development, particularly in the area of technical and vocational training. Yet no member of the Committee can be said to have had any expertise in how technical skills are developed, nor in the relationship between education and economic growth. E. P. Papanoutsos, a key member, had spoken and written extensively on technical and vocational education, but his general orientation lay more in the pedagogical or "educational " aspects of the subject rather than in how it is woven into the processes of economic development. D. Pippas, President of the Athens National Polytechnic, was a limenologist (an expert on ports), while L. Zervas was a professor of physical sciences. Added to this was the rather unusual presence of two professors of law (Ch. Fragistas of Salonica and A. Tsirintanis of Athens), neither of whom had any strong background in economics or any branch of the pedagogical sciences.

Many critics argued, with good reason, that most members of the Committee knew very little about the educational problems of the country and for that matter about problems of education (meaning largely formal schooling) in general. In his "Educational Reminiscences (Memoirs)," prepared at the request of the present author, E. P. Papanoutsos, who wrote most of the Report, made the same point:

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[15] E. P. Asemakopoulos, "The Conclusions of the Committee on Education," Ibid., pp. 135-143.

> The only things the academic professors (with the exception perhaps of Mr. C. Bonēs) knew directly were the organizational and educational affairs of the university faculties, and it was mainly from this optical angle that they looked at the subject of Education (*Paideia*). Their ideas were general and they expressed the views of the conservative circles. Among these one should include G. Palaiologos (who had served as General Secretary under the Ministry of T. Tourcovasilēs...). As a matter of fact one of them (the technologist D. Pippas) was so ignorant and so insistent on his anachronistic educational "ideas" that on many occasions he was infuriating. (It was he who seriously maintained that we should return to the old organization of the Bavarians: four-year *gymnasion*, and that we should begin the teaching of the *Katharevousa*, the only Greek language, in the first grade of the elementary schools.)[16]

Papanoutsos has also maintained that the ideological orientation of the majority on the Committee was conservative. And this was perhaps not unexpected in view of the fact that the Committee was appointed by a right-wing government, that of Premier Constantine Karamanlēs.

The linking of educational with political conservatism has not been uncommon in modern Greek social thought. Conservatism in education by and large has signified adherence to unsullied traditional values and ideals such as purity in language (Katharevousa), classicism (unquestioned loyalty to the Greek classics which should be studied in the original), religious orthodoxy, and literary humanistic learning. Progressivism or liberalism has denoted educational demoticism (the elevation of the demotic form of the Greek language) and a rather broad interpretation of the Helleno-Christian ideal which has always been considered as the ideological foundation of Greek culture and education. Among spokesmen of the conservative-traditional ideology were the previously mentioned Geōrgoulēs, C. Vourverēs, another eminent classical scholar,[17] I. Theódōrakopoulos, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Athens and member of the Committee, P. Bratsiotēs,[18] member of the Academy and Professor at the University of Athens, and C. Spetsieris,[19] Professor of Pedagogy at the University of Athens.

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[16] E. P. Papanoutsos, "Educational Reminiscences (Memoirs)," Unpublished document, pp. 60-61. I am most grateful to Mr. Papanoutsos for preparing this invaluable document at my request.

Of the two universities, the University of Athens, particularly the Faculty or School of Philosophy, had consistently taken a conservative stand in education. By tradition dating back to its foundation in 1837, the University of Athens has assumed the role of defining and preserving the ideals of Greek culture; and its School of Philosophy has assumed the role of defining and articulating the goals and content of education. Still under the influence of nineteenth century German classical neo-humanism and German educational idealism, the School has consistently fought the demoticists (the latest example was the persecution and trial of Kakridēs referred to earlier), and any attempts to circumscribe the educational and cultural centrality of classical learning. Among other things, this has meant strong reaction against any attempts to restrict the influence of the classical *gymnasion*, to shorten the amount of time devoted to the study of ancient Greek or to read the ancients in translation.

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[17] See Constantine I. Vourverēs, *Classical Education* (Athens, 1957).

[18] P. Bratsiotēs, "National Education and the Helleno-Christian Civilization," reprinted in *National Education*, *op*. *cit.*, pp. 75-84.

[19] See C. Spetsieris, *The Values of the Helleno-Christian Civilization* (Athens, 1965).

In mentioning the University of Athens one must bear in mind the central place it has occupied in modern Greek life and thought.

Most political leaders, intellectuals, and other elites received their education at the University of Athens. In addition most secondary school teachers of literature, religion, history, classics, languages, mathematics and so forth were graduates of this institution. Athens has controlled access to the professions, the world of letters and the arts, and to educational and political leadership positions. The significance of the University of Athens in educational policy-making has equally been great. Education policy-makers have frequently enlisted the cooperation of the university in formulating and carrying through their plans of action. In most cases the School of Philosophy in particular has deliberated, issued memoranda, made statements to the press, and generally sought to influence policy. Its views are never taken lightly: they are discussed in Parliament, in scientific and literary journals, in the newspapers, at meetings of teacher organizations, and at round-table conferences.

In view of the above, and given the overrepresentation of the University of Athens on the Committee, one is not surprised at the relative absence in the Report of any views or recommendations that could becalled "radical." Except for the rather mild modifications concerning language in the elementary schools, traidtional values, orientations and assumptions or what may be called the traditional educational "culture," centering in the Helleno-Christian ideology, were upheld as the foundation and essense of Greek education at all levels. One finds the persistence of the theory of faculty psychology and its associated doctrines of mental discipline and transfer of training; the view that certain areas of study, notably classical Greek and mathematics, are intrinsically superior for intellectual development; a rather restricted interpretation of humanistic education (again mostly revolving around the classical literary traidtion); the attitude that the authority of Orthodoxy and the classical civilization should be unquestioned; and the notion that Hellenism and Christianity are interdependent and mutually reinforcing.

Despite the lip-service paid to the techno-economic significance of education and the claims made on behalf of technical and vocational education, one detects the implication that such an educational orientation is at best a necessary evil. Technological civilizations promote the material and hence the baser (in Aristotle's words the "banausic") aspects of human life. True culture and consequently education must be concerned with the essence of man which is spiritual and which can be sought through the study of the humanities or through classical education. As stated above, there were some variations in interpretation, but basically all those who articulated the goals of Greek culture and the Greek educational ideology agreed on fundamental principles. Hence, it is really doubtful whether another group of Greek intellectuals and educators could have come up with radically different views and recommendations.

The Policy of the Karamanlēs Government: The Reforms of 1959

The Report of the Committee on Education was presented to Prime Minister Karamanlēs amid pomp and ceremony. It was reported that the Prime Minister expressed great satisfaction and that at long last he had an educational program before him which he was going to put into effect quite soon. On the 21st day of March, 1959, he announced that the Government, having taken into account the conclusions of the Committee and the views of other authorities, was submitting certain "legislative and administrative measures" based on the various suggestions and recommendations. One of the planned changes, Karamanlês pointed out, was "the reform of Greek education in favor of vocational and technical education."[20] Another statement issued the same day reaffirmed the Government's intention to give a techno-economic bent to education and outlined the main provisions of the new measures. A more detailed announcement was made on March 23, 1959, by Mr. G. Voyatzēs, the newly appointed Minister of Education.[21]

The Prime Minister's statement implied that the new measures were based, in part, on the Committee's recommendations. But in his "Educational Memoirs," E. P. Papanoutsos bitterly noted that the Committee's Report was buried in the cupboards of the Ministry of Education and forgotten. His recollections are rather interesting:

> The fate of the Conclusions of the 1957 Committee on Education was rather strange. Before Parliament had completely finished its work it was dissolved, elections were proclaimed, the National Radical Union won, and Constantine Karamanlês formed the new government. We were all anxiously waiting for something new and decisive to happen in the educational sector. For, when at a ceremonial gathering in the Ministry of Education (pictures were taken, the speeches were taped for radio, and the press gave the event extensive publicity) the Prime Minister received the Report from the chairman of the Committee, he expressed satisfaction, and he announced that the Government now had a program for the improvement of education, which he was going to put into effect rather soon. But events took a different turn from that forseen by our optimism. Mr. A. Gerokostopoulos, who had directed the work of the Committee and who had become familiar with educational matters, was not retained as Minister of Education. He was replaced by the inexperienced Mr. G. Voyatzēs (a civil engineer) who had served as Minister of Commercial Navigation in the previous government. To the post of General Secretary was appointed Mr. Ch. Solomonides, a politician and literary writer, who was also a stranger to the field of education. The situation

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[20] Kingdom of Greece, Ministry of National Education and Religion, Studies and Coordination Service, Bulletin of the Studies and Coordination Service, Vol. C. No. V-VI (1959).

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-18.

> grew worse a little later when Mr. P. Kanellopoulos entered the government as Deputy Prime Minister. In those years Mr. P. Kanellopoulos was shifting politically and was espousing more and more extreme conservative views. Such a reputation brought him closer to those politico-literary circles which allegedly were worried about the dangers that awaited the "helleno-christian" upbringing of the youth of our country following the "very daring" recommendations of the Committee on Education. With the cooperation of the theologian, P. Bratsiotēs, his Christian Circle, K. Geōrgoulēs, and the Association of Classical Philologists known as "Platōn," these circles organized themselves for the purpose of reacting against any deviation from ancestral traditions on the part of the National Committee.[22]

One afternoon, Papanoutsos goes on, Kanellopoulos called him in his office for a "conference." There he found Mr. Voyatzēs (the Minister of Education), Mr. K. Tsatos, another member of the new Cabinet, and the latter's close friend, Mr. I. Theodōrakopoulos. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the form and the program of studies of the gymnasion, within the framework of basically a "humanistic education." Whereupon Papanoutsos referred to the Committee's Report and stated that the Government had before it concrete proposals. All it had to do was to study them and decide accordingly. Mr. Tsatsos and Mr. Voyatzēs were inclined to agree with Papanoutsos but Mr. Theodōrakopoulos "started developing his very conservative ideas which had not found a favorable response from most members of the Committee." It was clear, according to Papanoutsos, that Mr. Kanellopoulos had no intention of paying special attention to the work of the Commiteee. Unfortunately the Report was completely forgotten.[22]

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[22] Papanoutsos, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

In any case, one year after the appearance of the Report of the Committee on Education, i.e., in 1959, the government pushed through Parliament seven pieces of legislation affecting several aspects of the educational system, e.g., the organization and administration of general, technical and vocational education, the supply of teachers and supervisory personnel, the pedagogical academies, and the school for kindergarten teachers.[23]

Whether by intent or happenstance, the views of the Committee and the Karamanlēs government converged on certain broad policy goals and principles: That educational policy must consider the social and techno-economic needs of the country, that technical and vocational education should be coordinated and strengthened, that secondary education should be made more flexible and democratic, that the curriculum should be revised and modernized, and that education should be basically humanistic. Karamanlēs himself seemed to have had a broad vision of humanism. "Humanistic education," he once said, "is indispensable for every civilized man...But, under such a slogan, it is a mistake to stifle contemporary trends in the applied sciences and the technical training of youth. There is no contradiction between these two educational ideals." Affirming that the humanistic ideal should continue to pervade Greek education, the governement sought to implement the abovementioned goals by reorganizing secondary education and restructuring technical and vocational education.

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[23] The text of the main law is in Kingdom of Greece, Legislative Decree No. 3971, "On Technical and Vocational Education, Organization of Secondary Education and Administration of Education," Government Gazette, I, No. 187 (September 7, 1959). Also see Kingdom of Greece, Legislative Decree No. 3973, "On the Unification and Coordination of the Administration of Vcoational Education," Government Gazette, I, No. 187 (September 7, 1959).

Government policy deviated from the recommendations of the Committee in the organization of secondary education. Instead of two "self-contained" cycles, the new measures provided for a "two stage" gymnasion: a three-year "junior" or lower and a three-year "senior" or higher stage. The primary aim of the "new gymnasion" would be to provide a general education; a secondary aim, professional or vocational training. The curriculum of the junior stage, uniform in all schools, was to be based on the concept of "general humanistic paideia," basically denoting such subjects as ancient and modern Greek, religion, and modern foreign languages. In addition, the curriculum would include mathematics, physics, history, geography, handicrafts, music, physical education, and civics. During this stage the interests and abilities of the pupils would be determined and appropriate educational and vocational guidance provided. At the successful completion of the three-year course, students would receive a school-leaving certificate for further education in the senior stage or upper school, or in technical and vocational schools, and for entrance into minor clerical occupations.

To provide flexibility, parity, and better vocational orientation, the upper stage was to be differentiated into eight streams or types of gymnasia: purely classical, scientific, technical, economic, agricultural, maritime, foreign language, and home economics. Each of these schools or branches was to perform a dual function: prepare for higher studies in corresponding university faculties or higher institutions and for direct employment in corresponding occupational categories. All school-leaving certificates would be regarded as equivalent for entry into institutions of higher learning. In order to make this possible, and ensure the acquisition of humanistic culture, a core of subjects (ancient and modern Greek,one modern foreign language, physics and mathematics) would be required of all students in all types of schools. Tables II and III indicate the weekly time-table of the various types of schools as developed after the 1959 reforms.

TABLE II
Program of Studies of Junior Stage (Grades 7-9) with
Hours Allotted per Subject

Subject	Class Hours by Grades per Week			
	1st	2nd	3rd	Total
1. Religion	2	2	2	6
2. Ancient Greek	7	7	8	22
3. Modern Greek	4	4	4	12
4. Modern Foreign Languages (Fr. or Eng.)	3	3	3	9
5. History	3	3	3	9
6. Civics	-	-	1	1
7. Geography	2	2	2	6
8. Mathematics	4	4	4	12
9. Physics (Science)	4	3	5	12
10. Handicrafts	2	2	1	5
11. Music	2	2	1	5
12. Physical Education	3	3	2	8
13. First Aid	-	-	1	1
14. Home Economics (for girls)	2	2	2	6
15. Study of the Environment	1	1	-	2
Total Class Hours (per week)	39	38	39	116

TABLE III
Program of Studies of Senior Stage (Grades 10-12) in Different Branches With Hours Allotted Per Subject

Subject	Class Hours by grades per week								
	1st			2nd			3rd		
1. Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2. Ancient Greek	8	6	7	8	6	7	8	6	7
3. Modern Greek	4	3	3	4	3	3	4	3	3
4. History-Civics	3	2	2	2	2	2	4	3	2
5. Latin	3	-	3	3	-	3	3	-	3
6. Mod. For. Languages	3	3	9	9	3	9	9	3	9
7. Math-Cosmography	4	7	3	4	6	3	5	8	4
8. Physics-Science	3	6	2	4	6	3	4	6	4
9. Geography	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-
10. Handicrafts	1	2	1	1	2	-	-	2	-
11. Music	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Hygiene	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-
13. Physical Education	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	2
14. Philosophy	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	2	2
15. Home Economics (Girls)	2			1			1		
Total (not counting Home Economics)	36	36	36	37	37	38	37	38	38

A comparison between the curriculum of the old and the "new" classical *gymnasia* shows that in the latter the number of hours devoted to ancient Greek decreased by about one weekly hour per class, and that devoted to modern Greek increased by the same amount. The amount of time allotted to modern foreign languages increased by about one weekly hour per class, and English was introduced (previously it was French). There were some even minor increases in the time allotted to mathematics and science. In history one hour on civics was added in the last class. One should also mention the modicum of time allotted to "first aid" and to study of the environment in the lower school. In general, the distribution of studies in terms of humanities vs. sciences, literary-linguistic versus other subjects, etc., remained substantially the same in the new gymnasia which were also to be the most widely provided. In the other branches or schools (scientific, economic, etc.) there were variations in emphasis depending on the type. But the amount of time allotted to religion, ancient and modern Greek, history, geography, philosophy and such "minor" subjects as physical education, music, hygiene, and the like remained substantially constant.[24]

There were no substantial variations in the syllabi for each course in the classical schools. Conceivably teachers approached their subject differently or injected a different content. However, in a system such as the Greek which has been dominated by university entrance examinations and where teachers are expected to follow the prescribed syllabi to the letter, it is unlikely that such a curriculum change took place.

Spokesmen for the reforms saw the differentiation of the upper stage as an attempt to bridge the gap between the general-humanistic and vocational education, and as part of the government policy to give a "techno-economic" bent to the secondary system.[25] In connection with the latter point, it should be mentioned that the 1959 laws provided that all commercial practical schools were to be converted into commercial gymnasia; all urban practical schools into vocational schools; and many classical *gymnasia* into technical equivalents.

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[24] For the program of studies and the syllabi, see G. Th. Pitsinos, ed., Ta Analytika kai Hōrologia Programmata tōn Gymnasion (Codes), (Athens, 1963).

The measures perceived to bear more directly on the techno-economic emphasis were those relating to the organization, expansion, and coordination of technical and vocational schooling. This form of education was believed to have been neglected to a degree that was affecting negatively the economic development of the country. Vocational schools were under the supervision and administration of several ministries, and in proportion to the *gymnasia*, they catered to a small number of students. In 1958-1959, there were 39,824 youths attending vocational schools compared to 239,648 who attended *gymnasia*.[26]

Legislative decree No. 3971 authorized the establishment of a three-graded system of schools: (a) two four-year higher technical schools for "sub-engineers," attached to the National Polytechnic of Athens and the Polytechnic of the University of Salonica; (b) six three-or four-year secondary technical schools for technical assistants and foremen; and (c) lower vocational schools (one to four years in duration) for craftsmen and skilled agricultural workers. All three types of institutions would provide both general education and vocational training, the emphasis on the latter to depend on the grade of school. The law also authorized the establishment of a college for teachers of vocational and technical education, a general directorate for technical education in the Ministry of Education, and two higher educational councils for the preparation of curricula, the study of text-books, and personnel administration. Another decree (No. 3973) placed all kinds and levels of technical and vocational schools, except three special schools, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and established a co-ordinating council for vocational education again under the central Ministry.

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[25] See, for example, N. A. Antonakaki, "The General Principles of Reform of Education," in Kingdom of Greece, Ministry of National Education and Religions, Studies and Coordiuation Service, *Bulletin*, Vol. C, No. V-VI (1959), pp. 37-39.

[26] *Ibid*., pp. 22-23.

Reactions to the 1959 Reforms, Comments and Observations

As with the Report on the Committee on Education, certain groups criticized the 1959 measures as inimical to the traditional Helleno-Christian humanistic ideal. Again the strongest criticism came from the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens. In a special announcement in March, 1959, when the government proclaimed its plans, the School objected to the proposed organization of secondary education into junior and senior sections. Such an arrangement, it said, "would militate against the humanistic education of the pupils, for it would render the adequate organization of the curriculum of the senior section impossible." The School also criticized the proposed equivalence of school-leaving certificates. This would create a situation whereby graduates of technical or other practically-biased gymnasia would seek admission to the theoretical departments of the universities for which they would be ill-prepared, instead of going directly into vocations for which they would be trained. Such equivalence, would, furthermore, not be recognized by foreign universities, thus the value of the gymnasion studies would be lowered.

The School of Philosophy did not object to the strengthening of technical education and the replacement of weak gymnasia by technical schools. But it cautioned against the employment of teachers who did not possess the requisite scientific and pedagogical knowledge and "moral and national sentiments."[27]

Two months later, in a special memorandum on the same subject, the School accused the government of using technical education as a "slogan" in order to "cripple classical education."[28]

The projected establishment of technical and other practical _gymnasia_ was also criticized by the Federation of Secondary School Teachers. Although this group applauded the attempts to develop technical and vocational education, it expressed "strong doubts" at the desirability of setting up "mixed" _gymnasia_ where both general vocational instruction would be offered.[29]

Following the 1959 enactments, some changes took place, but in general they were not as far-reaching as some had optimistically predicted. At the administrative level two general directorates (one for general education and the other for vocational education) were set up within the Ministry of Education. In addition, the Studies and Co-ordination Service, established in 1956 for the purpose of conducting research into problems of education and advising the Ministry on educational legislation, seems to have become more active under the leadership of Mrs. N. Dendrinou

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[27] Reported in _Ethnikos Keryx (National Herald)_, March 27, 1959.

[28] Reported in _Eleutheria_, May 14, 1959.

[29] Reported in _Ethnikos Keryx (National Herald)_, March 27, 1959.

Antonakaki who played an important part in the 1959 changes. In pursuing the policy of giving a practical bent to Greek education, commercial secondary schools were renamed commercial *gymnasia*; the number of practical-scientific sections in the *gymnasia* was increased; some new types of *gymnasia* (agricultural, technical, foreign language, home economics) were established, although they appeared to be new "only in name;" and six technical secondary schools began operating in the provinces. As to curriculum, in the lower secondary stage the time devoted to mathematics and physics was increased somewhat, and a short time was allotted to civics, first aid, and "study of the environment." As noted above, new programs of study for the *gymnasia* were drawn, but these, for the most part, remained on paper only.[30]

The climate that surrounded both the Committee's Report and the 1959 reforms reflected a basic conflict in the pedagogical mind of contemporary Greece. While there was a general recognition of the need to revamp the entire system of education and to strengthen technical and vocational education, there was also a strong backward pull of a deeply entrenched tradition of classical-Christian humanism. This tradition, represented most purely by the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens, the Church, and secondary school teachers organizations continued to exert a powerful influence in the formation of educational policy and indeed in the minds of most people. An analysis of the debates shows that those responsible for the new legislation were as much the apologists as the critics of the Greek tradition. In answer to the objections of the School of Philosophy, Mr. Voyatzĕs, the Minister of Education, stated that the school had "misrepresented" the decisions of the government. The proposed technical *gymnasia* as well as all the other technical and vocational schools were going to be based on a humanistic education.[31] In his first official announcement of the plans, Premier Karamanlēs stated that the decision to shift part of the emphasis on education to the economic-technical training of youth "should not be interpreted as abandonment of the traditional humanistic ideal which will continue to be the basis of all forms of Greek education."[32] And in introducing the bills to the Greek Parliament, C. Aposkitēs vigorously defended the proposed changes, but at the same time asserted that "under no circumstances" should the Helleno-Christian ideal be sacrificed, for a general humanistic education "constitutes the roots and the trunk of Greek education."[33] No wonder then that Classical Greek continued to be a requirement in all the senior streams and in most of the technical schools.

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[30] For developments and unsolved problems in the immediate years following the 1959 reforms, see Kingdom of Greece, Ministry of National Education and Religion, Studies and Coordination Service, *Bulletin of the Studies and Coordination Service*, Vol. C, Nos. 5-6 (in Greek), Vol. D. No. 1 (in English), Vol. D., Nos. 2-3 (in Greek), Vol. E., No. 5 (in English), and Vol. E., No. 6 (in Greek). Included in this series is a report by a foreign expert, Lionel Elvin, Director of the Institute of Education, University of London; Vol. E, Nos. 3-4 (1962).

The twin principles that educational policy must consider the demands of the economy and that in the education of youth schools should pay more attention to occupational opportunities and "human resource development" seems to have become "respectable" elements in the Greek conception of paideia. Yet, neither the Committee's recommendations nor the government's policy reveal any clear understanding of precisely how schooling is or should be related to techno-economic needs or is to be woven into the processes of economic growth. It is now recognized that the organization of skill development, particularly at the middle-level of technical competency, is much more complicated than the mere building of technical and vocational schools or the introduction of practical studies into the curriculum. One needs to know more about people's preferences regarding educational outcomes and about the motives, aspirations, and expectations concerning different types of schooling. Equally relevant for policy guidelines is knowledge about the conditions under which various kinds of competencies and skill s are fostered and cost-benefit assessments of althenative methods of training. Throughout the report and the policy plans one detects the questionable assumption that in all cases technical competencies and skills and different vocational aspirations are best developed through formal technical or vocational schooling or through changes in the curriculum. Further, neither the Committee nor the government considered societal factors which influence what goes on inside the schools. In this connection there were conspicuous gaps on such questions as the utilization and effective allocation of skills, the attitudes of employers toward schooling, the structure of incentives (employment rewards and opportunities), and the educational requirements for employment. While the Committee and the government talked about Greece's technical manpower needs, they did not seem to pay much attention to how people would be attracted to make different choices. Once again they assumed that by manipulating schools, the necessary supply would be automatically forthcoming.

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[31] Reported in *Ethnikos Kēryx* (National Herald), March 27, 1959.

[32] Prime Minister's Office, Information Department, *Official Announcement of the Prime Minister on the Educational Reforms of March 22, 1959*, Ref. No. 5460, March 23, 1959, p. 1.

[33] *Speech Delivered by C. Aposkitēs, Member of Parliament from Arcadia, on the Education Bill 3971*, June 23, 1959, pp. 6-7.

Nevertheless, one should not underrate the fact that new ideas, albeit deeply enmeshed in traditional ones, were exposed to public debate. There were signs that the stranglehold of age-old institutions and views was beginning to loosen. Or at least there was a continuing clamor for change.

CHAPTER VI

THE PAPANDREOU REFORMS AND THE GREAT DEBATE

Discontent and a clamor for change continued in the 1960's. Indeed, dissatisfaction over the existing state of affairs seems to have increased, despite the very recent legislative enactments. Undoubtedly this was partly due to political reasons. Educational policy in Greece, as it should have become clear by now, has always been the storm-center of partisan political controversy. Not unexpectedly, therefore, the political circles which were not sympathetic to Karamanlēs and his ruling ERE (National Radical Union) castigated the 1959 reforms. Partisan animosity, however, was also accompanied by the kind of criticism discussed in the previous chapter, particularly the belief that the government, despite much rhetoric, was not taking steps to bring education more in line with the techno-economic needs of the country. George Papandreou, for example, the leader of the Center Union party, charged that the government was parsimonious in the allocation of funds to the schools and did not view education as a form of investment. Motivated by political but also ideological reasons, liberals and progressives charged that gross regional disparities were not alleviated and socio-economic factors affected differential access to schools, particularly the universities and other institutions of higher learning. Schools, according to many, continued to be inefficient, overcrowded, and controlled by vested interests.

Concern over the inadequacy of the educational system, however, was more generalized. This was evident when education was discussed in relation to the development of the country.

Development and Education

Greece's association with the European Common Market, the world-wide impact of technology, and the world-wide push for modernization highlighted the inadequacies in the socio-economic structure and in skill and manpower development. The Ministry of Education through its Studies and Coordination Service issued reports, memoranda, and other documents stressing educational and manpower shortages, particularly of scientific and technical personnel, and generally emphasizing the need for an educational-economic readjustment. Some of these were prepared for the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (O.E.E.C.) or the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.) set up in 1961, and of which Greece was a member. In a report to the Governing Committee for Scientific and Technical Personnel of O.E.E.C. in 1960, Mrs. N. D. Antonakaki, head of the Studies and Coordination Service, spoke favorably on the 1959 reforms and the ensuing developments, but also noted that there were "no exact data on the existing and necessary technical and scientific personnel in industry, education, research and agriculture. On the basis of what was available, she pointed to shortages of teachers, particularly of physics and foreign languages, of technologists and scientists, e.g., engineers, physicists, agriculturalists, and of technicians and skilled workers. The planning of new technical schools, according to Mrs. Antonakaki, would improve the supply of lower-level technicians but for the time being the shortage will continue because the graduates are 4,900 from lower schools and 850 from secondary and upper secondary while the young men and women entering industry each year are about five times as much."[1] In another document, a memorandum to the Committee on Scientific and Technical Personnel of O.E.C.D., submitted in November 1961, Mrs. Antonakaki wrote that there was "a great need for personnel at all educational levels from both the quantitative and qualitative points of view." Further, she underscored the chronic shortage of highly-qualified scientific and technical personnel.[2]

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[1] Training of Scientists, Engineers and Technicians in Greece. Brief summary of data prepared for the Governing Committee for Scientific and Technical Personnel of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation by the Greek Delegation, 1960.

The same theme constituted themain body of a report by W. D. Elvin, Director of the Institute of Education of the University of London, prepared on behalf of the Committee on Scientific and Technical Personnel of O.E.C.D. and submitted in the Spring of 1961. Elvin referred to the goals and targets of the Five-Year Plan (1960-1964), and the government's recognition of the need to take special steps "to develop scientific and technical education at all levels. Elvin accepted the official projections for the economic growth of the country, the assumptions made concerning the role of education, and the educational implications drawn from them. Chief among these was that the development of certain basic growth sectors in the economy, e.g., agriculture, mining, electrical energy, and engineering, could be accomplished only by strengthening relevant technical and vocational education at the university and pre-university levels. Elvin also accepted the government's general framework of educational reform as set in the 1959 laws. He felt that government's policy to give top priority to secondary education and to coordinate and strengthen technical-vocational preparation was basically sound. In general, Elvin's opinion was that the state of Greek education and the Greek economy was encouraging. There were, of course, serious constraints, imbalances, and shortcomings: there were shortages of scientists, technicians, and teachers; too many Greeks studied overseas and never returned; higher institutions were too restrictive, poorly equipped, inadequately staffed, and generally they needed to be modernized; and the curriculum of the schools required considerable improvement. Further, there were inconsistencies in the area of technical education. Parents wanted their children to shift towards scientific studies, which meant going to secondary school and then to the university. However, one could not enter technological" or "higher technical" institutions from 'secondary" technical schools. Also, despite a great demand for it, technical education suffered from low prestige. Yet, Elvin's report was marked by optimism. Progress was slow. The heritage of the past bequeathed difficulties and there were many gaps, but the present progressive trend was noticeable. Elvin concluded:

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[2] See Kingdom of Greece, Ministry of Education and Religion, Studies and Coordination Service, Bulletin, Vol. E, No. V (Athens, 1962), pp. 8-11.

> The government has made significant changes in secondary education and is fully conscious of the need to improve scientific and technical education at all levels. While it does not maintain a passive position vis-a-vis those who follow tradition exclusively, it is aware that what is required is a new form of synthesis, whereby the new methods of education will not ignore traditional Greek education but will be interrelated with it. A large group of intellectuals support the new educational policy, some rather cautiously, others encouraging its implementation at a faster pace. One thing, however, cannot be avoided: the extension of educational policy demands greater expenditures.[3]

Meanwhile the Karamanlēs government had announced the first Five-Year Plan (1960-1964) in the history of the country. The aims, according to Karamanlēs and other government spokesmen, were to change the economy from a predominantly agricultural basis to an industrial one,' and to raise the living standard of the people to the level of highly industrialized European countries."[4] In the Plan, attention was given to the human factor and technical education." The government, it was stated, "intends to develop to a wide extent its policy with respect to vocational preparation," for it recognized that there was a strong relationship between the country's educational level, particularly the scientific and technical, and economic development. It would emphasize general pre-vocational education, vocational training according to the specific needs of each productive sector, preparation of high-level manpower, foreign technical assistance, and would wage an attack against illiteracy.[5]

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[3] The entire text of Elvin's report was translated into Greek and was issued by the Studies and Coordination Service. See Kingdom of Greece, Ministry of National Education and Religion, Studies and Coordination Service, Bulletin, Vol. E, No. III-IV. (Athens, 1962).

The Plan called for the establishment of large industrial enterprises, the improvement of agriculture, and the setting up of agricultural cooperatives. To meet the needs that would be created, the government intended, in addition to the steps already taken in vocational education, to set up new private and public centers for industrial and agricultural training and to educate the farmers." In the 'services' sector, the Plan stated that the number of commercial and technical schools would be increased, and the quality of education in the secondary schools would be improved. The government would continue to support specialized courses through institutes or through agencies, such as the tourist enterprises, that had shown initiative. For the training of "higher level manpower," e.g., scientific and technical personnel, business directors, and the like,

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[4] See Thomas Anthem, 'Greece's Five-Year Plan, Contemporary Review, Vol. 195 (March, 1959), pp. 140-144.

[5] Kingdom of Greece, Ministry of Coordination, Five-Year Plan (Program) for the Development of the Country, 1960-1964 (Athens, 1960), pp. 167-169. (In Greek).

'preparatory and cultural courses" were going to be organized and there would be an upgrading of secondary education within the framework of the recent legislation. At the secondary level, government policy would seek to (a) 'create a scientific and technical branch which would be a continuation of compulsory general education," and (b) differentiate the secondary course into various tracks" each of which would lead to a school-leaving certificate either for immediate entry to a vocational career or for completion of higher studies.[6]

The importance attached to the economic development of the country was further evident by the establishment in 1961 of the Center for Economic Research. Supported by the Greek Government, the U.S. Mission to Greece and by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, the Center was expected to fulfill three functions:

> (1) Basic research on the structure and behavior of the Greek economy, (2) Scientific programming of resource allocation for economic development, and (3) Technical-economic training of personnel for key positions in government and industry.

In this Greco-American effort at co-operation, whose ultimate aim was "to help in creating a better life for the Greek people," the Karamanlēs government invited Professor Andreas Papandreou, the son of George Papandreou and at the time chairman of the Department of Economics of the University of California at Berkeley, to become the director. Andreas Papandreou recruited several promising Greek economists, most of whom had studied in the United States, and enlisted the cooperation of foreign experts. Soon a flood of publications was issued, and the Center became an important advisory organ of the government as well as a lively intellectual community of scholars, researchers, planners, and policy makers. The Center's main task was the carrying out of research on key aspects of the Greek economy. Inevitably, however, investigations into the economic sector involved, explicitly or implicitly, considerations of the educational system, especially those aspects bearing upon economic development. For example, in one of the Center's research monographs on the structure and performance of Greek industry, G. Coutsourmaris called for changes in the educational system.

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[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 170-176.

> Reforming the educational system in a way that would provide a continuous stream of technically well-trained young persons adjusted to industry requirements and devising ways of attracting this stream to the expanding high productivity industries are also of primary importance. The well-known Japanese industrial advance is largely attributed to the co-ordination of these two elements. Instead, the Greek educational system is highly imbalanced in training human resources for industry, while policy intervention up to now has greatly contributed to directing trained young people to stagnating, traditional, and low-productivity industries. Large imbalances in technical skills are primarily found, as was indicated, at the supervisory and managerial levels.[7]

The most detailed assessment of educational needs in relation to development was made by the Mediterranean Regional Project (M.R.P.) on behalf of O.E.C.D. The final report was published in 1965, one year after the Papandreou reforms and it was prefaced by Mr. Stephanopoulos, the Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Coordination in the Papandreou government. Mr. Stephanopoulos stated that the government (meaning that of Mr. Papandreou) recognized the extremely important role of education for the social and economic development of Greece, and, therefore, embarked on a broad reform of the educational system, meaning the 1964 changes.[8] The bulk of the work on the M.R.P. report, however, was completed in 1962-63. Hence there is only passing reference in it to the 1964 reforms. The report refers mainly to the 1959 changés which provide the educational framework for its recommendations. This is rather strange in view of the fact that the Papandreou government did not consider the Karamanlēs measures of 1959 adequate and indeed supplanted them when it came to power.

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[7] George Coutsoumaris, *The Morphology of Greek Industry*, Center of Economic Research, Research Monograph Series, No. 6 (Athens, Greece, 1963), p. 362.

Rapid industrialization, according to the M.R.P., presupposed the efficient utilization of "all the economic resources of the country--natural, physical, capital, and human resources," and that the last of these held "the key to economic growth." Further it was assumed that the development of human resources rested largely on the educational system which suffered from inadequacies and deficiencies. Hence the attainment of the development objectives and the projected manpower structure for the period 1962-1974 necessitated several educational readjustments.

One of themajor weaknesses from the standpoint of human resource development was in technical and vocational education at the secondary level, in which the number of students relative to the population was "the lowest in Europe." Many of the private institutions, which accounted for 85 per cent of the students in 1961, were neither efficient nor well organized; classrooms were overcrowded; equipment was inadequate and of low quality; and there was an extrement shortage of laboratories."

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[8] Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Education and Development, The Mediterranean Regional Project: Greece (Paris: O.E.C.D., 1965), pp. 13-14. Hereafter cited as M.R.P. Report.

Moreover, technical and vocational education was concentrated in the Greater Athens area; most of the teaching was done in evening classes; and it attracted mainly children from low income families. Substantial increases in enrollment took place between 1955 and 1961. But pupils were still unwilling to enter technical and vocational schools because of the strong tradition of classical education, unsatisfactory classroom and teaching conditions, and the impossibility of entering higher education through such schools. The M.R.P. felt that in time these constraints would be overcome, and it calculated that by 1974 enrollments should increase by 104 per cent (from 42,451 to 86,500) with the greatest increase in public technical and vocational schools (from 4,940 to 51,100).[9]

Another weakness of the educational system was the overcrowding in higher institutions, especially in the science and technology schools where expansion in numbers has been most rapid and where inadequate laboratory space is a serious handicap to students. The result was a high drop-out rate, and an increase of students studying overseas. In general the system of higher education, according to the M.R.P. report, has been slow to adapt itself to the needs imposed by modern technology. To satisfy the projected manpower requirements total enrollments in the various faculties must increase to nearly 46,000 in 1974 (an approximate increase of 62 per cent above the level of 1961) with the largest relative increases in the science and technology faculties (a required growth of over 80 per cent).[10]

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[9] Ibid., pp. 24, 56-60, 165-167.

[10] Ibid., pp. 23, 60-63, 167-168.

The report of the Mediterranean Regional Project commented on several other educational weaknesses which had a bearing on social and economic development. Among these were certain deficiencies which were believed to affect the quality of the educational system. They included comparatively high teacher/pupil ratios, expecially in secondary general schools, shortages of equipment and school buildings of all types, an inadequate salary structure for teachers, poor utilization of existing supplies of teachers, absence of educational research, and limited opportunities as well as inappropriate curricula for children in rural areas, and questions were raised concerning the adequacy of the curriculum for the children between the ages of 12 and 18. Unfortunately in this respect the report was too general:

> Curricula in this branch of education (secondary general) need to be directed towards integrating courses of study suitable both for pupils who will enter the labour force after any stage of their secondary education and for those who will continue their studies at a higher level. The majority of children leave school some time between the ages of 12 and 18. It is desirable that at whatever stage they leave school they should have received an education that is complete for some purpose, rather than having been "wasted" because it depends for its usefulness on some subsequent education. On the other hand, secondary schools must also prepare those pupils who will be proceeding to higher education to take full advantage of their university studies, and for this purpose a thorough foundation in basic principles is required rather than training for a particular line of work. Devising a curriculum that will meet both these objectives simultaneously is not an easy task but is extremely important and deserves attention.[11]

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[11] *Ibid.*, p. 87, 74ff.

By 1963-64, when the Karamanles right-wing government was replaced by the Papandreou Center Union government, educational reform again seemed to be in the air. And the general notion that it was demanded by the need for development seemed to have become a matter of "conventional wisdom." One source put it as follows:

> The entire leadership of our country, the intellectual, political and economic, has pronounced categorically that on the one hand our educational system has long ceased to respond to current conditions, and on the other, that reformation of education must consider the development plans of our society. At the same time, public opinion, without exaggeration is anxiously awaiting the new educational orientation.[12]

Public opinion and the Greek leadershop did not have to wait long. On November 3, 1963, the Center Union Party won by a small majority and George Papandreou, the new Prime Minister, also retained the office of Minister of Education. Papandreou's interest in education was well known and of long standing.[13] He immediately called in Evangelos Papanoutsos, a respected philosopher and educationalist, and assigned to him the important post of General Secretary of the Ministry of Education. In the second elections of February 1964, Papandreou and the Center Union Party won an overwhelming majority and were given the mandate to rule the country. He appointed Loukis Akritas as Under-Secretary of Education and reaffirmed his trust in Papanoutsos by giving him all the power to restructure and reorient the educational system.

Papantoutsos's educational activities dated back to the 1920's when as a Greek emigre in Alexandria, Egypt, he served for ten years (1921-1931) as a teacher in a gymnasium. He had studied at the School of Theology of the University of Athens, in Germany where he read philosophy, classical literature and pedagogy, and in France. According to his own account, in Germany and France his pedagogical awareness came less from being exposed to the lectures of Spranger (Berlin), Kroh (Tubingen), and Fauconnet (Sorbonne) and more from visits to the progressive schools of the time and from his acquaintance with progressive German educational circles. His exposure to English and American educational ideas came much later. Papanoutsos came to know G. Papandreou in 1930, when the latter was appointed Minister of Education, who asked him to take over the directorship of a newly established teacher training college in Mytilene. From 1931-1944 Papanoutsos served as professor or director of several teacher training colleges which were renamed pedagogical academies. Originally a political conservative, he later switched and became associated with the Venizelist liberalism. In educational matters he changed from a purist to an ardent demoticist, and he became known for his efforts to bring about changes in the structure, content and general orientation of the Greek system. From 1944 to 1965 Papanoutsos' educational activities centered in the central Ministry of Education. During these twenty years, he wrote, I 'entered' and 'left' the Ministry of Education five times: two as General Director and three as General Secretary.'[14] At the same time he continued writing about education in the press, he started and edited the journal Paideia, later changed to Paideia Kai Zōe, and, as mentioned earlier, he served on the famous Committee on Education (1957-58).

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[12] K. G. Aphendras and D. P. Chioureas, Technical and Vocational Education in Greece (Piraeus: I. Liontes Bros., 1926), p. 41

[13] Papandreou had served as Minister of Education under Venizelos in the early 1930's, and throughout his long political career he had often written and spoken about education.

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[14] E. P. Papanoutsos, Educational Memoirs, op. cit., p. 19. In each case, however, he held office for a very short time. All in all he held these posts for five and a half years.

Papanoutsos' views on the reform of Greek education were adumbrated in the immediate years following the Second World War. Subsequently they were refined and elaborated but not radically changed. Chief among them were: that the demotic language should be accorded a legal" status in education analogous to the katharevousa; that Greek education should continue to be pervaded by the humanistic spirit, but in a less restricted sense than the traditional classical humanism; that secondary schooling should be more differentiated than the traditional rather 'monolithic' six-year gymnasium, and divided into two cycles or stages; that education should be expanded and more attention should be paid to vocational and technical education; and that the curriculum and methods of teaching in the schools should be modernized, i.e., brought more in line with modern psychological and pedagogical theories. In addition, as early as 1951 he drew attention to the economic significance of education, particularly of technical education.[15] Ten years later in an editorial to his journal Paideia Kai Zoe, Papanoutsos criticized post-war governments for not taking decisive action to adapt education to the new demands of national life. He blamed them and the schools for underemployment among youth and for emigration. The entire educational system was antiquated. He identified as major educational problems: (a) low teacher salaries; (b) the pseudo-classicism that pervaded secondary education and the fact that the gymnasium was the only avenue for those who wanted to continue their education beyond the elementary school; (c) the unplanned growth of gymnasia and graduates which had resulted in overabundance of gymnasium graduates who could not be absorbed by the economy; (d) the low status and poor condition of technical and vocational schools; and (c) overcrowding in the universities and higher institutions. And he reaffirmed the economic significance of education:

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[15] Ibid., pp. 33-34. Also see Papanoutsos, Design of the Educational Program,' Paideia, No. 59-60 (15 September, 1951), pp. 317-329.

> The relationship between education and the other sectors of the national life, particularly the economy, is two-sided. On the one hand, good education, general and vocational, is a precondition for the economic development of the country; the qualitative and quantitative improvement of agricultural production and the progress of existing industries as well as industrialization cannot take place without a generally and specifically educated labour force of all levels, i.e., technicians, civil servants and leaders. On the other hand, economic growth is a precondition for good education, for in ourtimes education has ceased to be a cheap commodity; it requires many and, more than before, educated personnel, well equipped laboratories and teaching 'aides" (more complicated and expensive than books and paper), and more teaching space, that is strong economic means for investments and running expenses.[16]

By 1963, when he was appointed to the important policy making position of General Secretary, Papanoutsos' ideas about the weaknesses of Greek education and what needed to be done about it were well-known. What indeed was done immediately after the second Papandreou Government was sworn into office in 1964 was not surprising. Nor, as we shall argue later, were the controversy and reaction that erupted soon after the Educational Reform Act of 1964 was presented to the public.

The Educational Reform Act of 1964

It is an established fact that Papanoutsos wrote both the text of the Act (Legislative Decree No. 4379) entitled "On the Organization and Administration of General Elementary and Secondary) Education" and the prefatory statement (Introductory Report) appended to it. According to

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[16] Papanoutsos, Editorial, Paideia Kai Zoe (October, 1961), p. 191.

Papanoutsos himself:

> I personally drafted the text after a short consultation with the Prime Minister. I had been ready for a long time and I knew that Mr. Papandreou was in full agreement with the general lines of my thinking --it is for this reason that I had accepted his offer to become General Secretary. The new element which he (Mr. Papandreou) added was free education by the State, a promise which he had made during his pre-election speeches.[17]

The prefatory statement was detailed and comprehensive. It presented the rationale and the underlying ideology of the entire educational reform associated with the short-lived Papandreou Government (1964-1965). For this reason and the fact that the Act of 1964 was later singled out by the military government as a key element in the dangerous "liberalism" and anti-Hellenism that allegedly were sapping the moral fibre of the Greek society, the prefatory statement merits further elaboration.

Prefatory Statement to Legislative Decree 4379/1964

At the outset the basic principles upon which the reforms and Greek education would be based were noted.

A New Humanism: As in the past, education would be humanistic in character, but there was a broader interpretation of humanism.

> There is general consensus....that our National Education should be basically humanistic in character. This is demanded both by our long standing tradition and by the meaning of noble (high-sounding) education. But the humanism that will pervade all the levels of our National System of Education, must be of a kind that is not attached to a passionate worship of dead forms of the past or is antithetical to the positive sciences and the technical arts (the possession and pride of our age). Faithful to the deeper meaning of Greek education and the Christian faith, such humanism must embrace the great intellectual currents of our age and must aim at the improvement and the refinement of man's individual and social life.[18]

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[17] Papanoutsos, Educational Memoirs, op. cit., p. 68.

[18] The Kingdom of Greece, Ministry of National Education and Religion, On the Organization and Administration of General Education (Elementary and Secondary), Legislative Decree 4379/1964 (Athens: National Printing Office,

The traditional conception of humanism, represented, as mentioned in the previous chapter, by such Greek scholars and educational spokesmen as K. Vourverēs, A. D. Geōrgoulēs, and I. Theodōrakopoulos, was defined almost exclusively in terms of classicism (mostly ancient Greek learning) and Christianity (specifically the Greek Orthodox Religion). Considerable emphasis was placed on the study of the classics in the original, which was justified on disciplinary (it trained the faculties of the mind), intellectual, moral, patriotic, and even religious grounds. Other educational spokesmen, however, particularly those associated with educational demoticism, talked about such values as freedom, respect for the dignity and honor of all men, justice, and the like as also being part of a humane" or humanistic culture. About twenty years prior to the Papandreou reforms, A. Delmouzos, the hero of the Volos experiment earlier in the century, wrote:

> Humanism is such an ideal. It is based on the Principles: (a) that each individual has the right to live and develop himself freely according to his natural potential; and (b) that all men and nations possess that right. Humanism, therefore, as the ultimate value recognizes man and his freedom. But it recognizes man in all his psychical world and its fullest development according to his ability and potential. It is the soul, the intellect that elevates man above his animal level....Man's freedom also is defined by the same right in life which other men possess as individuals, groups or nations; that is, freedom is not immunity, but the recognition and affirmation of the bonds which normal group life and virtue demand.

Referring specifically to the role of the school in accomplishing the "humanistic ideal, Delmouzos added:

1964), p. 11. The quotations from the Prefatory Statement were translated by the author. Excerpts from the actual decree are taken from the English translation by George Ravanis and John Dennis. Hereafter cited as Legislative Decree 4379/1964.

> The school must lay the foundations for social virtue in the younger generation: above all, to love and respect man as an ultimate value; to appreciate and love individual and national freedom and sacrifice themselves for it; to understand one's duty to oneself, to others and to the society in which one lives; to develop a feeling for justice, sincerity and goodness and willingness to help and cooperate with others for the general good; and to develop moral fortitude and conscientiousness for the benefit not only of themselves but of society in general.[19]

By 1959 this broader conception of a very basic ideological aspect of Greek education had been espoused by a politically and educationally diverse group of individuals. Among the leaders of the Democratic Front, Kartalés called for a positive-scientific" type of humanism. Karamanlēs of the National Radical Union Party (ERE), while Prime .Minister, is reported to have said: Humanistic education is indispensable for every civilized man... But, under such a slogan, it is a mistake to stifle contemporary trends in the applied sciences and the technical training of youth. There is no contradiction between these two educational ideals. Many educators, by and large, echoed the views of Delmouzos and Papanoutsos, which are discussed below. The following statement by A. Ntokas, which appeared in the journal Paideia kai Zoe, illustrates the new trend:

> ...today humanistic education cannot be based on the old conception of the humanistic idea; it is necessary that it be transformed into a multifaceted ideal, which, while related to the past, will be based on the multifarious aspects of modern civilization.[20]

Papanoutsos, who was responsible for the prefatory statement, had expressed his views on the subject of humanism in education on several occasions. In

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[19] Translated from A. Delmouzos, Meletes kai Parerga (Athens, 1958). Originally published in Democratikē Epitheōrēsē, May, 1946.

[20] A. Ntokas, Anthrōpismos, Technikē, Neoellenikē Zōe (Humanism, Technique, and Modern Greek Life)," Paideia kai Zoē Vol. 8, No. 38 (December 1959), p. 262.

1952 he criticized those who claimed that any vocational or practical orientation in the schools was inconsistent with the humanistic ideal which should be the "axis of every stage of the educational system. "Yet man, his intellect and virtue (aretè) are revealed and realized, Papanoutsos wrote, in life's action (praxis). The most difficult, the most human, and the most sacred of life's actions," he went on, is vocational activity, what each one has set out to do and promote for himself and society as a whole."[21]

In one of his weekly columns in the Athenian daily, To Vēma, five years later (1957), Papanoutsos continued his attack on those who saw a contradiction between technical-scientific, as well as vocational, and general education insofar as the humanistic ideal was concerned. "Of course we want our schools to turn out 'Greeks' and 'Christians'," he stated, "but this is not sufficient...we must also see to it that our youth are 'enlightened' on the big problems of the contemporary world, and that they are equipped for the hard struggle of life. He criticised the formalism and imitational nature of the narrowly classical and alexandrine notion of humanism, and noted that today the natural sciences are a profound philosophy and the technical arts demand of man not only a cultivated mind, but an ethical element as well." An enlightened and well organized educational system must combine both ideals, (the scientific and the humanistic) according to Papanoutsos, and must aim at the creating of the "living and whole man.[22]

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[21] E. P. Papanoutsos, Anthrōpismos kai Epangelma (Humanism and Vocation), in Agōnes kai Agōnia Yia ten Paideia (Struggles and Agonies About Education) by E. P. Papanoutsos, Athens: Ikaros, 1965, pp. 27-28.

[22] Papanoutsos, Synairesē, Ochi Antithesē (Combination not Antithesis), in Ibid., pp. 24-25.

Papanoutsos elaborated on the new humanistic principles that underlay the 1964 reforms in an unpublished statement shortly after the Act.

> Allow me to explain to you the meaning of this humanism as it was captured by our lawgiver. It will be enough to mention a notion created by the ancient Greek literature and philosophy: the notion of "philanthropy (philanthropia)". To understand this term, which has nothing to do with the Christian charity--we must remember that it first appeared in the vocabulary of Aeschylus in the 5th century B.C. The philanthropic feelings of Prometheus are responsible for his tragic fate. According to Plato "philanthropia" was what stimulated Socrates in his pedagogical work. Aristotle goes further; he considers the "philanthropon" to be a moral standard which he uses as the criterion of the authenticity of the characters in drama. Combining all these varieties of experience, we can sum up their content in this way: I am man's friend when I honour and respect him, have faith in him as a being second to none in existence; when I "identify" myself with him realizing that the nature and fate of men is common; when I am convinced that justice must reign in life (the evil man will not triumph, or the good man will never be humiliated by misfortune) then I am proud of my human nature, I enjoy the happiness of living among human beings...
>
> ...Reformation of the educational system doesn't mean only the improvement of school organization and revision or change of subjects and training methods. It chiefly means a new spirit and a new line in our educational work. We deeply believe that this new spirit is a sound and authentic humanism: it can be expressed by a formula simple but which must be taken to the hearts of our educators. We shall tell them: "Teach your students to be man's friends, to believe in him, to respect and honour him by respecting their neighbours and themselves. And for this reason, to feel proud of being man.
>
> Teach them that:
>
> "Homo res sacra homini"
> "Man is something sacred for Man"
>
> as Seneca used to say.
>
> Let that be their credo. The rest will follow.[23]

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[23] Papanoutsos, "The Recent Educational Reform in Greece and its Philosophy," mimeographed.

And in a radio speech broadcast over the Central Radio Station of Athens, Papanoutsos said that the aim of the reform was to create a new type of man, a citizen of Greek democracy who would be a free man, free from ignorance, superstitions, and 'wild imaginations,' an ethically self-sufficient man.[24]

Free education and equality of opportunity: A principle that was rather unusual insofar as official policy statements were concerned was that Greek education should cease to be the privilege of the few but must be freely and equitably provided and distributed. This was felt to be of national economic and social significance.

> It is unnecessary to praise the importance of free education. This law (decree) stems from the conviction that the basis of and guarantee of a true democracy rest on equality--without discrimination--of all citizens to acquire the benefits of education. There is no worse form of social inequality than an educational system which is the privilege of the well-to-do. A nation, which does not provide equal opportunities for all its citizens to be educated and to develop their abilities is not worthy of being called a democracy. More than that, it would be injurious to the Welfare of the nation if its human resources--the most precious capital --remained unexploited and inactive through lack of education. At a time when Greece is facing stiff competition in the international economic arena, she has only one sure hope of national survival: through education ot equip her citizens with the means to exploit her natural resources and to develop the material and intellectual civilization of the country. Traditionally the most noble product of this land has been its intelligent and dexterous human beings. Therefore, we must not be parsimonious in our expenditures to provide education for them. Besides, it has been recognized and proclaimed universally that educational spending is a particularly productive form of investment.[25]

As steps in the direction of free and expanded opportunities, all costs were to be abolished in publicly supported schools and the State would assume all financial responsibility. In addition, and this was felt to be a major innovation, compulsory education would be extended to 9 years (ages 7 to 15). To support such a change, it was noted that in the last twenty years the culturally and economically advanced nations increased the years of compulsory schooling. They had done so on the widely held conviction that the economic well-being and intellectual welfare of a nation presupposes high levels of education. The Prefatory Statement drew attention to slow industrial growth and the fact that, compared with the other European countries, Greece was among the least favored" on the question of compulsory school attendance. Finally, the entrance examinations into the gymnasia (the new three-year secondary schools following the six-year elementary schools) were to be abolished.[26]

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[24] Papanoutsos, Educational Memoirs, op.cit., p. 72.

[25] Legislative Decree 4379/1964, op.cit., pp. 16-17.

The Prefatory Statement pointed to several other features of Greek education that needed change: teacher-training, and the training of 'supervisory personnel'. Changes in these areas were specified in detail in the Act.

Legislative Decree 4379/1964

Organization of General Education: The Act endorsed the six-year elementary school but provided that secondary education should consist of two types of schools: a three-year gymnasium, following the elementary stage, and a three-year lyceum. Entrance into the gymnasium would not require examinations, but admission into the lyceum would, after graduation from the gymnasium. It was also stressed that the three types of schools -- elementary, gymnasia, and lycea -- would be independent, under separate administration, with separate staff and records. (Article 1).

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[26] Ibid., pp. 18-20.

The most novel features of these provisions were the abolition of entrance examinations into the new gymnasium and the division of the six-year traditional secondary school, the old gymnasion, into two self-contained and independent units. Each of these units would have its own objectives and program of studies, and it would be adapted to the educational demands of the whole society. The new gymnasium would serve the needs of the majority of students who did not continue their education beyond the third class (ninth grade or age 15). But the lyceum would be reserved for the intellectually select who have the ability, the means and the desire to continue their education and enter universities or other institutions of higher learning.[27]

The abolition of secondary entrance examinations and the division of the secondary stage were found to be consonant with another provision, namely, free education, and the extension of compulsory school attendance to nine years (Articles 3 and 4). The latter measure was to be applied gradually as facilities and other prerequisites permitted.

The types of schools: Articles 7 through 12 delineated the goals and curriculum of the three types of schools. Except for a change in the linguistic form, nothing substantially new was added with respect to the elementary school; it was to continue to provide a religious, moral and national education, and to offer the pupils the elements of general culture.' The curriculum would include religion, the Greek language, history, mathematics, elements of science, geography, arts and crafts, study of the environment, singing and physical education.

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[27] Ibid., pp. 13-16.

The gymnasium would continue the religious, moral, and national training of youth; it would instruct pupils "in order to approach the ancient Greek world, its history and art, and to know the important works of Greek literature of modern times; and it would encourage them towards a thoughtful investigation of their natural environment and social reality, as well as their vocational orientation. The wording may have been different from that of previous statements, but the substance was the same. Where the Act deviated from tradition was in the way the ancients should be studied, and in the postponement of the study of ancient Greek:

> In the gymnasium the teaching of Classical Greek literature shall be carried out through accepted translations of classical works into Modern Greek. In the special school editions of works in prose, the ancient text should be juxtaposed with the translation so that the pupil may be able to get an elementary knowledge of the Attic dialect. (Article 8, Sec. 3).
>
> The first approach by the pupils to Classical Greek shall be done in the third grade of the gymnasium through a weekly three-hour course in the grammar of the Attic dialect accompanied by exercises in composition based on passages from ancient texts. (Article 8, Sec. 4).

As we shall see later, both these provisions, particularly the use of translations, were the subject of intense criticism and controversy. In defense of this innovation it was noted that in all the countries of the West the youth study the ancients through translations and come to know them "Alas! more fully and profoundly than us, who pride ourselves that we are their descendants and heirs. The aim should be to enter the spirit of the ancients, to illuminate the mind through the light of ancient learning, and this could be done through good translations. Besides not everybody is able to learn ancient Greek well; and often the pupil spends too much time learning the language rather than coming into contact with its "beautiful world of ideas."[28]

In its general purpose, the lyceum (grades 10-12) bore strong similarities with the upper three grades of the previous six-year gymnasion. It was to provide more advanced general education for those intending to enter the free professions, posts in government or private agencies, or institutions of higher learning. As with the institution it sought to supersede, pupils in the lyceum were to gain a deeper understanding of and insight into the Hellenic (ancient, medieval and modern) and Christian cultural traditions. A rather novel feature was the statement that students were also to "gain a fuller and clearer knowledge of the structure and the laws of the natural and social world, and aspire to a better adjustment in life." (Article 10, Sec. 1).

More significant changes were made in the scope of the curriculum, in the types of upper secondary schools and tracking or streaming. As noted earlier, the 1959 Act established different types of schools (classical, scientific, foreign language, technical, home economics, economic and maritime gymnasia). Except for the latter two, such a diversification was abolished; the lyceum would be uniform in "educational aims and curriculum." Also previously there were two main curriculum tracks in the upper three grades of the more prevalent classical gymnasion, namely the classical and the practical-scientific tracks. This arrangement also was terminated, primarily because it was felt that the early specialization was educationally and intellectually unsound. Instead the law stipulated the following:

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[28] Ibid., p. 24

> The detailed syllabus and timetable of the two upper classes of the lyceum contain subjects common to all students of the same class (grade), and subjects selected by the students themselves. The combination of these subjects forms two cycles (streams) of studies. The first is characterized by a bias toward the literary and historical subjects, and the second one toward mathematics and science. From the second lyceum grade onward pupils shall attend one or the other stream. A transfer from one stream to another is allowed at the beginning of each school year in the third lyceum grade or in the second lyceum grade for those who failed in the promotion examinations from the second to the third grade. (Article 10, Sec. 4).

As to innovations in the curriculum, certain new "social science" subjects were to be introduced, e.g., elements of democratic government and law, elements of economics, and introduction to sociology. In addition elements of philosophy (introduction to philosophy, logic, and methodology of sciences) was to be added. (Article 10, Section 2). The objective of these subjects, the Prefatory statement explained, will be to broaden "the pupils' intellectual horizons" and to lead them "to comprehend and appreciate the great ideological currents of our age."[29]

The curriculum: Several aspects of the curriculum have already been noted above. The law further abolished Latin as a compulsory subject; henceforth it would be among the optional subjects and in its place more ancient Greek would be taught in the *lyceum*. The dropping of Latin, another controversial element, would allow more time to be spent on the study of ancient Greek which was rather weak. And, in any case it was felt that the Greeks had a richer classical heritage, namely ancient Greek, "in which works of unsurpassed intellectual value have been written."[30]

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[29] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Systematic study of ancient Greek, i.e., "in its grammatical and syntactical form" would begin in the first class of the lyceum (grade 10). Since some preparatory work will have been made in the gymnasium, the lyceum students would be better able to understand the original texts.

Modern Greek: the language question: The Act paid attention to the perennial "language question," another politically and educationally explosive issue. This, of course, revolved around the katharevousa-demotikē form of the modern Greek language. In this connection, it would be relevant to mention that Papanoutsos, the architect of the new reforms, had been an exponent of demoticism for some time. Back in 1945, Papanoutsos and K. Amantos, Minister of Education, and with the cooperation of Manolēs Triantaphyllidēs, another famous demoticist, drafted a short bill which they submitted to the Regent, Archbishop Damaskēnos. The bill contained three articles: "(1) The demotikē, the modern Greek koinē, is a national language whose fundamental significance for Greek education is recognized; (2) the demotic language is thereby designated as the language of teaching and text-books in popular education (elementary schools); and (3) the demotic language, together with the modern Greek literature, should henceforth occupy a fundamental place in the curriculum of the secondary schools and institutions of higher learning which prepare secondary school teachers." [31] This bill was never passed and in the years that followed, Papanoutsos continued to press for the establishment of the demotikē as the official language of elementary schools and its elevation to an equal status as the katharevousa.

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[31] Papanoutsos, "Educational Memoirs," op. cit., pp. 27-28.

In the Prefactory Statement it was claimed that the "illiteracy" among youth, meaning gaps in their educational preparation, was in large part due to the unsettled language problem. Its confused status was "the outcome of the insincere tactics and policies of those in charge of educational affairs in the last twenty years." These people were reluctant to recognize the national, educational, cultural and moral claims of the popular, people's living language, "the language of our folksongs, our national anthem, and practically all of our literature."[32]

Article 5 was devoted to modern Greek in the schools and it read:

> 1. The popular language, Demotikē, in a form both orderly and non-dialectal, as it has been shaped into a panhellenic means of expression by the Greek people and by recognized authors of the nation, shall be freely used in speech and writing by those teaching or taught at all levels of education, from the lowest to the highest.
>
> 2. Demotikē is the language of the elementary school, of instruction there, and of elementary school texts. Pupils of the last two grades of the elementary school shall read passages from the Gospels and texts in the purist Greek language (katharevousa) simply to become familiar with it.
>
> 3. The grammar and syntax of katharevousa shall be taught in the gymnasium and the lyceum, and it shall be coordinated with the teaching of Demotikē and Classical Greek in the classes in which Classical Greek is taught. In parallel, pupils of secondary schools shall supplement and systematize their comprehension of grammar and syntax in the field of demotikē using as standards the texts of modern Greek authors distinguished for their literary value and disciplined language. (Article 5).

The academic certificate: An important other innovation was the establishment of the "academic certificate," perceived to be analogous to such such titles as the French baccalaureat and the German Habitur. The academic certificate, awarded after the passing of examinations conducted on specified dates in various cities of the country, would be of two types: type A for humanities, which would entitle one to register in the schools of theology and law, and type B for natural sciences and technology which would enable one to enter the schools of physics and mathematics, medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, agriculture, as well as the higher polytechnics. Both types would be equivalent for purposes of admission into all other higher institutions.

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[32] Legislative Decree 4379/1964, op. cit., p. 28.

The academic certificate was a measure believed to alleviate some of the problems associated with the entrance examinations into the universities and other higher institutions. Hitherto the examinations were held by the various schools in Athens and Salonica causing considerable hardship both on the part of the candidates and the professors. Papers were graded by university professors. The new examinations for the academic certificate would be based on the subject-matter taught in the lycea and would be marked by special teachers applying uniform criteria. These would be secondary school teachers under the supervision of university professors.

The training of teachers: According to the Act, prospective elementary teachers would receive longer professional training in three-year instead of two-year pedagogical academies. The courses were to include the usual humanistic studies (languages, history, and religion), science and mathematics, pedagogical studies, social sciences (sociology, economics, and elements of democratic government and law), folklore, music, home economics, artistic drawing, physical education, and vocational guidance. (Article 16).

To meet certain shortages of secondary school teachers, e.g., physics, mathematics and modern foreign languages, a scheme of intensive training in special programs was to be introduced "through the addition of a third semester to a given academic year during the summer months of June, July, August and September." (Article 15).

The Pedagogical Institute: Another major innovation was the establishment of the Pedagogical Institute. (Article 21). This unit would be located in Athens and it was to be under the authority of the Ministry of Education. Its functions were stated as:

a. Scientific research in educational matters of a theoretical and practical nature.

b. The in-service training of the teaching staff of every type of school.

c. The guidance of supervisory personnel of education toward the proper performance of their duties.

And more specifically:

A. To gather data and prepare studies:

  a. To define the subject-matter in all types of schools.

  b. To ascertain the most appropriate methods of teaching and education in general.

  c. To organize rationally the administration and the general functioning of schools.

B. The organization of courses, seminars, discussions and conferences:

  a. To raise the scientific level of competence of persons engaged in education.

  b. To inform participants of modern tendencies and methods of school work.

  c. To guide them toward the methodology of scientific research on school problems.

C. The guidance of the administrators of the various school districts:

  a. To appraise with precision the needs of schools and to discover ways of meeting these needs.

b. To test and assess correctly the abilities and achievements of teachers and students.

c. To become not only worthy supervisors of educational employees, but also cultural leaders in the area of their activities.

The decree specified in great detail the various types of personnel of the Institute, indicating numbers, rank and qualifications.

The Pedagogical Institute was to absorb the educational functions of certain existing establishments, e.g., the Secondary Teachers Training College and the School of Educational Workers for Vocational and Technical Education (SELETE), as well as the in-service training functions for elementary school teachers, which were performed by the universities of Athens and Salonica. (Article 23). And with the establishment of the Institute, the powerful Supreme Council of Education would discontinue. (Article 24). The administrative and disciplinary tasks of this body would be taken over by three central official boards of education. (Article 27).

Technical Education and New Universities. The Papandreou reforms, which were believed to be necessary for the promised national reconstruction, included technical education and the establishment of new universities. In May, 1965, two proposals, dealing with these aspects of education were submitted to the Secretary of Parliament (Boulé).

The proposed legislative plan "On Technical Education" reiterated previous statements about the economic significance of technical education and its neglect in Greece. Despite the changes following the 1959 enactments, enrollments in the various types of technical and vocational schools continued to lag behind those in general schools. (In 1964-65, 55,000 students were registered in public and private technical schools compared to 350,000 in general secondary schools.)[33] Technical education, according to the new proposal, should (a) be adjusted to the arrangements made by the 1964 Act, (b) begin after the completion of the nine-year compulsory schooling, (c) provide a variety of specializations to meet the different aptitudes and interests of the students and the requirements of the job market, and (d) be sufficiently flexible so that students can easily move from one type of school to another. On the basis of these principles, the following organizational scheme was put forward:

1. First Level: (a) Three-year technical gymnasion (ages 12 - 15), following the six-year elementary school. The program of studies would be basically the same as that of the general gymnasion except for the addition of some "elementary technical subjects." (b) Schools for technicians, following the technical gymnasion and preparing mechanics, electricians, guilders, carpenters, plumbers, etc.

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[33] Introductory Statement on the Legislative Plan "On Technical Education," reprinted in Papanoutsos, E.P. Agōnes kai Agōnia Yia tēn Paideia (Athens: Ikaros, 1965), pp. 352-353.

2. Middle Level: A three-year lyceum (ages 15-18) after graduation from the gymnasion (general or technical) and the passing of an entrance examination. Graduates of schools for technicians (1-h above) would be admitted without examinations directly into the second class of the lyceum. This school would train middle-level technical foremen and "supervisors" of the first-level technicians.

3. Higher Level: Schools for sub-engineers and technical teacher-training schools. Admission into these schools would presuppose a school-leaving certificate from the ordinary lyceum. Those holding a certificate of graduation from a technical lyceum could be registered directly into the second class after special examinations.

4. Highest Level: The highly selective university-level Athens Polytechnic, preparing top-level engineers.[34]

Before this plan was made law, the Papandreou government fell. In September, 1966, the Stephanopoulos coalition government published a scheme "On Vocational and Technical Education" which was basically the same as the 1965 one.

The legislative plan "On the Establishment of Universities" noted that high-level manpower was needed for the economic and the intellectual advancement of the country. There were two universities (Athens and Salonica) which were overcrowded and not as easily accessible to students from the provinces. The plan, therefore, envisaged the creation of four new universities (in Athens, Crete, Patras and Ioannina), the Ionian Academy in Corfu to consist of two university-level schools (School of Fine Arts and School of Tourist Economy), and a branch of the Polytechnical School of the University of Salonica in Larissa.[35]

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[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 356-359.

[35] The plan on the new universities is also reprinted in Papanoutsos, *Agōnes kai Agōnia Yia tēn Paideia*, pp. 367-370.

The Great Debate

The reforms described above became the storm-center of controversy and debate that have few parallels in the history of modern Greek education. In the parliament, in the press, at round table discussions, in the halls of academia, at teacher gatherings and religious meetings, politicians, leading intellectuals, professors, teachers, business people, and parents discussed, at times not without vicious *ad hominem* insinuations, the so-called "Educational Reform." Even in the theater the reforms became the butt for jokes. Some saw in them a true educational renaissance; others saw a downright betrayal of long-cherished traditional values and a despicable pandering to the goals of "popular" fronts. A few felt that the reforms had not gone far enough. And, as always, they became enmeshed in party politics, interest group animosities, and personal vendettas.

It would be appropriate to begin with the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens. As before, the School set the tone for what we earlier called the conservative-tradtional position. The School discussed the government measures at its meetings of March 18 and April 13, 15, and 20, 1964, soon after they were announced, and issued a special memorandum on them. Considering the nature of the School of Philosophy, its perceived role in modern Greek culture and education, and its stand on previous episodes regarding educational change (the most recent one being the report of the Committee on Education), its views on education and its criticisms of the reforms were not at all surprising.

At the outset, the School characterized the entire scheme of the government as "revolutionary" and many of the "decisions" as totally antithetical to the "interests of *national* education and Greek paideia."[36] It admitted that there were inadequacies and shortcomings in secondary education, but these did not call for or justify the transformation of its very substance and spirit. The reforms would destroy the classical gymnasion, the institutional embodiment of the unity of Greek paideia (ancient, medieval, and modern) with its combined Helleno-Christian ideals and values and its emphasis on man. Secondary education would cease to be what it is supposed to be, namely, "encyclopedic culture" and intellectual development which, of necessity, are not related to "practical life".

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[36] *Memorandum of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens on the Government Measures Concerning Education*, reprinted from the *Yearbook of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens*, 1963-1964 (Athens, 1964), p. 5.

This shortsighting of secondary education would occur as a result of (a) the division of the traditional six-year gymnasion into two self-contained and independent cycles (the new gymnasion and the lyceum); (b) the abolition of Latin and the postponement of the study of classical Greek to the second cycle, i.e., the lyceum: and (c) the use of translations in the study of the ancients. The reforms, according to the School, lengthened popular education to nine years (six years of elementary and three years of the new gymnasion) and shortened secondary education to three years (the new lyceum). This was absolutely unacceptable; three years were insufficient for the gymnasion to perform its goal.[37] (It should be noted here that the School uses the term gymnasion to refer to the traditional six-year secondary school, while the new law restricted the term to the first three years of post-elementary education). Elementary education is increased at the expense of secondary; the so-called new gymnasion is devoid of any classical, hence humanistic, content, and, therefore, it is a continuation of elementary or popular education. This new arrangement, the memorandum continued, "has aroused fears that the true aim of the new measures is to set the goals of elementary education as the main and sole goals of National Education."[38] Such fears were strengthened by the abolition of entrance examinations into the first cycle of secondary schools and by the setting up of the Pedagogical Institute.

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[37] Ibid., p. 6.

[38] Ibid., p. 7.

The School considered the setting up of the Pedagogical Institute as a "severe blow" against higher education, particularly against itself, i.e., the School. Such an establishment, according to it, which combined theoretical pedagogical studies with administration, would restrict free scientific inquiry. Further, it would overemphasize the pedagogical aspects of the preparation of teachers, i.e., the "how", at the expense of more training in subject-matter, the "what." And it would take away one of the important functions of the School of Philosophy, namely, the "pedagogical guidance of secondary school teachers."[39]

Continuing on its favorite theme of the unity of Greek civilization--ancient, medieval, and modern--and the preservation of its humanistic foundations, the School criticized strongly the teaching of ancient Greek literature through translations. Form and content, in its view, were inextricably bound up. Translations deprived classical literature of the "divine moira," i.e., its "educational" value. They were of necessity products of the linguistic forms of particular historical periods, and did not represent the universalism and timelessness of the ancient Greek texts. The same could be said to hold true of Latin, which also should not have been made optional.[40]

Finally, the School referred to the language question and rejected the idea that contemporary Greek education could be based on the equivalence of the two linguistic forms, the demotikē and the katharevousa. The latter should remain the linguistic basis of education, for, among other things, katharevousa is connected with "the religious, cultural and scholarly life of the Nation."[41]

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[39] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[40] Ibid., pp. 10-13.

[41] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

The abolition of Latin and the changes made in the teaching of classical Greek were taken up by the Academy of Athens, the prestigious body of leading Greek scholars and intellectuals. At special general meetings held on May 2, June 4, and June 9, 1964, several members of the Academy criticized the proposed measures on essentially similar grounds as the School of Philosophy. Among those who made statements were I. Theodŏrakopoulos and P. Brastiotis, who had commented on earlier reform porposals (e.g., those of the Committee on Education), the archaeologist S. Marinatos, the writer S. Melas, the scholar-statesman K. Tsatsos, the natural scientist K. Choremes, and the mathematician J. Xanthakis who was also President of the Academy. The assembled "Academicians" summarized their views in a letter dated June 20, 1964, and sent to Premier Papandreou who was also serving as Minister of Education. In the letter it was stated that there was unanimous agreement that (a) the abolition of Latin would "lower the value of the Greek gymnasion" and therefore it should not take place, and (b) the three-year restriction of the teaching of ancient Greek in the three classes of the lyceum was "inadequate" and all except Ch. Karouzos were against the exclusive teaching of ancient Greek through translations.[42]

The main arguments in support of the maintenance of the status quo reveals the persistence of the conservative traditional educational ideology. Indeed the historian of European education is struck by what were common nineteenth century views concerning the value of classical studies. Thus one reads that Latin is indispensable for scholarly and scientific knowledge and research, and that "no one can rightly be called European, if he has not been a Roman citizen,"

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[42] The Academy of Athens, The Teaching of Classical Letters in Secondary Education. Minutes of the General Meetings 831, 832, and 833 of the Academy of Athens, (Athens: Office of Publications of the Academy of Athens, 1967), pp. 5-6. It is interesting that the proceedings and the letter were published in this form in 1967 after an extraordinary meeting of the Academy on June 7, 1967, during which the place of classical studies in secondary education was again discussed.

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and that Latin and Greek discipline the mind and train the faculties of reasoning. In addition, "Latin education" was justified on the grounds that it provided a cultural bridge between Greece and Western Europe and that it was "internally connected" with ancient "Greek education." Brastiotis said that the restriction of ancient Greek conflicted with the following serious considerations: (a) the purely humanistic and scholarly-scientific; (b) the Greek school tradition; (c) the national-psychological; and (d) the religious and ecclesiastical.[43] Tsatsos argued that "the classical languages are, at least for Western man, the most perfect instrument of expression," and that they constitute the "chief means of the cultivation of thinking and feeling." Ancient Greek, according to him, was not a "foreign language" for the Greeks, but the "root of the modern Greek form." National and political reasons demanded that the Greeks maintain close links with ancient Greek civilization "which is the chief source of the historic, that is the national conscience."[44] Greece, Theodōrakopoulos averred, did not possess material resources: its treasures lay in its tradition which was founded on ancient learning.[45]

Critical comments were made by influential educational spokesmen and classical scholars.[46] P.K. Geōrgountzos, honorary Chairman of the Supreme Educational Council, argued that it would be impossible to enter "the beautiful world of ideas" (a phrase used in the reform plans in support of translations) of the ancients without a systematic study of ancient grammar and syntax and without study of the texts in the original. Further, such grammatical knowledge was held to be indispensable for mastering modern Greek. "Grammar," according to Geōrgountzos, "is the most philosophical of subjects." N. Kontoleōn, Dean of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens, and Theodōrakopoulas, Professor of Philosophy there, criticized the measures in separate statements from those that appeared in the aforementioned memorandum by the School. And K.D. Geōrgoulēs, the classicist, continued talking about education in general and reform, in particular, in the same vein as before.[47] Indeed, Geōrgoulēs went further than many of the other critics. For he saw the entire "reform movement" as part of a "popular front"--not dissimilar in its tactics and goals from communist totalitarian counterparts--to "de-hellenize," "de-nationalize," and "de-humanize" the younger generation. The ultimate aim of the reformers, according to him, was to bring about a social and cultural revolution on the communist model.

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[43] Ibid., pp. 34-38.

[44] Ibid., pp. 45-49.

[45] Ibid., p. 25.

[46] These appeared in the following newspapers: Kathēmerinē, Nos. 15954, 15955 (August, 1964), and August 29, 1964; Mesēmvrinē, August 28, 1964; To Vēma, August 23, 25, 26, 27, and 29; and Kathēmerinē, July 14, 1966, August 7, 8, 1966.

Opposition to the reforms was vigorously carried out in Parliament. Here opinion was divided on party lines, indicating once more the political sensitivity of Greek education. Leading members of E.R.E. (National Radical Union), the right-wing party of Opposition, whose leadership passed from Karamanlēs to Kanellopoulos, spoke strongly against all features of the Bill, e.d., the school reorganization, the extension of compulsory free education, the use of translations, the elimination of katharevousa from the elementary grades and the elevation of the status of the demotike, the establishment of the Academic Certificate, the setting of the Pedagogical Institute, and the making of Latin an optional subject.[48]

The views of the Oppostion were countered by those of the members of the Center Union Party. And against the critics at Athens University were ranged leading scholars from the University of Salonica--for example, I. Kakridēs, N. Andriotēs, and M. Sakellariou--who supported the reforms. Outside the academic circles, Papanoutsos, the architect of the law, defended the measures with his usual pungent asseverations.

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[47] See chapter V.

[48] See Boulē tōn Hellēnōn (Chamber of Deputies of the Greeks), Official Minutes of the Special Committee of the Boulē, According to Article 35 of the Constitution (July 14, 1964, - Sept. 8, 1964, Vol. I, (Athens: National Printing Office, 1964).

On the language question, opinion was also mostly divided along the same lines, although there was some crossing of the lines. In general, the critics, did not oppose the more important role accorded the *demotikē*, but felt that the new arrangement would further exacerbate *diglossy* and create confusion among the young. Characteristically most of the critics expressed their thoughts in the pure form, while the supporters of the measures wrote in *demotikē*.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRESENT STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Governance

By constitutional provision education in Greece is under "the supreme supervision of the state" and is conducted under state expense, or by local municipal organizations.[1] State supervision and control are carried out by a highly organized and centralized bureaucracy headed by the Minister of National Education and Religions. The Minister is a political figure appointed by the party in power, and he is legally responsible for formulating and executing educational policy at the elementary and secondary school levels. Being a political figure he is, under normal conditions, responsible to the Boulē and to the people. In theory he is the undisputed czar of education: he introduces legislation, makes all decisions, is responsible for all appointments from the General Secretary (the person immediately below him) to the remote village teacher. In practice, however, the Minister's powers are circumscribed by the bureaucratic organization; and his decisions by a maze of laws, rules, and regulations, as well as by precedent and custom.

The top educational official after the Minister is the General Secretary of the Ministry, who is chosen by the Minister and holds office at his pleasure. In the last couple of decades, most of the General Secretaries have been educators, some with distinguished scholarly credentials. The General Secretary deals with essentially the same matters as the Minister.

In the performance of their tasks the Minister and the General Secretary are assisted by a hierarchical organization consisting of directorates and sections. Internal to the central organization at the Ministry, there are the Central Administrative Services, which constitute the Central Service, and the Central Educational Councils. The Minister presides over the Central Service, which is comparable to a national Board of Education, and has jurisdiction over public and private secondary schools. Higher educational institutions do not come directly under the Ministry; they are largely autonomous.

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[1] See The New Constitution of Greece (1952)

The functions of the Central Service include preparation of drafts of laws (bills), directives, and regulations concerning the administration and operation of intermediate districts and agencies; appointments and transfers of teachers and other school personnel; management of the budget, school buildings and curriculum development; and selection of textbooks. The Central Administrative Services include the General Directorates of General Education, Vocational Education, and Religions. Under the General Directorate of General Education there are several Directorates, e.g., Elementary Education, Secondary Education, Physical Education, Private Education, School Hygiene, and School Textbooks, while other Directorates, not falling under any of the above, include those of Higher Education, Technical Services, Fine Arts, Audio-Visual Media, and Ministry's Personnel.

Other central agencies performing important educational functions are the National Council of Education and the Supreme or Highest Educational Council (SEC). The former is presided by the Minister and its aim is to advise the Minister on the general planning of education and its adjustment to the national and economic conditions of the country.

In 1964, i.e., just prior to its replacement by the Pedagogical Institute (discussed in Chapter VI), the Supreme Educational Council consisted of a total of 23 members. Fourteen (14) of the Councillors were appointed by the government on a permanent basis and previously held posts as professors, teachers or higher educational officials; 2 were elected for a two-year term and represented the primary and secondary school teachers; 5 were appointed for a three-year term and held posts in the technical, commercial, nautical and agricultural branches; and the remaining 2 members were appointed for a three-year term and came from the Inspectorate of Physical Education and the Inspectorate of Elementary Education. It is of interest to note that of the 14 permanent members of the Council, 8 were philologists'[2] and 2 "theologians. All of them held degrees from Greek universities and had studied overseas, mainly in Germany.

As noted in Chapter VI , the Papandreou government in 1964 abolished the Supreme Educational Council and set up the Pedagogical Institute (Law 4379/64). The Institute consisted of 19 Councilors and 11 Associate Members. It was presided by John Kakrides, a distinguished classical scholar and a professor at the University of Salonica, and had N. Kritikos, a professor of mathematics at the Athens Polytechnic, as vice-president. Seven of the Institute councilors were philologists, 4 were mathematicians, 3 "educationists,"[3] 2 physicists, one theologian, one physical educator, and one lawyer-economist. Of the 11 Associate Members, there were 2 philologists, 2 mathematicians, 4 educationists, 1 theologian, 1 economist, and 1 engineer. All but 3 of the Councilors and Associate Members had studied overseas, and 5 of the 7 "educationists had received M.Ed. degrees in elementary education from the University of Edinburgh in Scotland. One cannot make much of the educational background of the members of the Institute, except that there were more people than ever before who had studied in England and the United States.

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[2] Philolgist includes specialists in literature, history, philosophy, the classics, or generally the humanities.

[3] By educationists is meant specialists in pedagogy or educational psychology.

The military regime reinstated the Supreme Educational Council and, as already noted, dissolved the Pedagogical Institute. But only two of the new Councilors had served on the pre-1964 Council. The rest of the twelve-member body were new appointees. Of this number in 1970: two were listed as philologists, 2 mathematicians, 2 physicists, 4 educationists, 1 theologian, and 1 economist. Only 4 of these Councilors had studied overseas.[4]

The responsibilities of the Supreme Educational Council have been advisory, administrative, and supervisory. It advises the Minister on problems of education in general, including the preparation of educational bills; it is responsible for the inspection of the Pedagogical Academies, the Academy of Physical Education, the Didaskaleion of Secondary Education, and the model schools, but not the universities; it constructs curricula, courses of study, and time-tables for elementary and secondary schools, and for the Pedagogical Academies and the Didaskaleion; it draws up instructions and terms of the writing of school text-books; and it prepares directives for teachers on such matters as methods of teaching, discipline and examinations. The Council supervises the general inspectors; it selects (by means of competitive examinations) the elementary school inspectors, and it is responsible for their promotion and transfer; and it has the power to certify, classify, and promote teachers and assign them to school districts throughout the country. Finally, the Council performs judicial functions in that it conducts disciplinary trials regarding teachers. In sum, it would be accurate to say that the Supreme Educational Council, originally intended to represent the profession, in reality controls and supervises education in

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[4] For the composition, responsibilities and functions of the SEC under the present government, see Kingdom of Greece, Ministry of National Education and Religion, Decree Law No. 651/1970 On the Organization and Administration of General Education and its Staff Athens: National Printing Office, 1971. Hereafter cited as Decree Law No. 651/1970.

Greece. Under parliamentary government the decisions of the Council, although submitted to the Minister as "suggestions," were almost binding upon him and had to be carried out within fifteen days unless they were sent back for further consideration.

The Ministry exercises its supervision and control over teachers and schools through intermediate or "peripheral" administrative services and councils. Under parliamentary government there were 11 general education regions for elementary education, each headed by an inspector general, and 150 local educational districts, each under an inspector who was the chief administrative and supervisory officer. The Papandreou government increased the regions to 15 and the districts to 200, while the present government decreased them to 10 and 176 respectively. Each of the ten regions is supervised by a "Councillor of Education" who is the highest-ranking education official in the region. The Councillors carry out "top level guidance on scientific and pedagogical matters." They are also "responsible for the administration and supervision of primary and secondary schools, teaching and supervisory staff serving in each one's respective region, for the General Education Teachers' Training Schools as well as for their teaching staff."[5]

Adjacent to the office of each inspector general there is a Higher Administrative Council of Elementary Education which consists of 5 members: A judge (president), the inspector general of elementary education, the director of the pedagogical academy (if there is such an academy in the town where the Council is seated), the senior inspector of the area, and the teacher who is first in the rank of seniority. There are 15, previously 11, such councils all over the country and their responsibilities include: (a) trial of appeals of teachers wishing to transfer to Athens, Piraeus and Salonica, (b) promotion of teachers to the higher grades" of their hierarchy, and (c) decision on appeals of teachers for transfer within the council area. Further, at the seat of each county (nomos) there is an Administrative Council of Elementary Education consisting of a judge (president), all the inspectors of the county, and the highest in seniority teacher of the county seat. There are 51 such councils and their responsibilities are: (a) promotion of teachers in their areas to "lower grades," (b) transfer of teachers within their area and the drawing up of the first lists of those to be transferred to Athens, Piraeus and Salonica, and (c) placement of the first appointed teachers, approval of leaves of absence, decisions on the school calendar, etc.

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[5] Decree Law No. 651/1970, Article 5.

Turning now to secondary education, the following intermediate or peripheral arrangements are to be found. The country is devided into 40 General Education Areas of Secondary Education, each headed by an inspector general of secondary education. These inspectors general are recruited from the cadre of philologists and are responsible for the administration and inspection of the gymnasia in their area and the supervision of the teaching staff. In addition to these inspectors general, there is a number of specialist inspectors general (e.g., mathematicians, physicists, theologians, physical educators, foreign language specialists, etc.) whose function is to supervise corresponding specialist teachers of the gymnasia all over the country. The headquarters of these individuals are in Athens at the Ministry of Education.

Adjacent to the office of each inspector general of secondary education there is an Administrative Council of Secondary Education consisting of 4 members: a judge (president), the inspector general of secondary education, the headmaster of the gymnasium, and a secondary education teacher. The responsibilities of the council over the gymnasium teachers are similar to those of the Administrative Council of Elementary Education over the elementary school teachers.

Elementary school principals and secondary school headmasters exercise teaching, administrative, and supervisory duties over pupils and teaching staff. They draw up official reports about the professional efficiency of the teachers, and they are the chief student disciplinarians. They cannot discipline teachers. The law in effect today is very detailed on all these matters. Thus, for example, it is required by law that the "professional efficiency reports' be drawn up by specially designated people called "estimators' (these are mainly the school heads); that they be prepared at the end of each year and submitted by the end of August at the latest; and that they include evaluations and grading on a scale from 1-10 on: (a) morals and character, 'respectability and official and social conduct "; (b) 'scientific preparation and intellectual abilities' ; (c) teaching efficiency and "knowledge of pedagogics; (d) professional integrity." Further the law stipulates:

> Each of the above-mentioned items is analyzed into its more specific elements. One of the most eminent (important) characteristics of an educator's personality should be his loyalty and devotion to the Greco-Christian ideals.[6]

In addition to their administrative and other duties, the principals and headmasters have rather heavy teaching loads which are also specified (in terms of weekly hours) by law.

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[6] Decree Law No. 651/1970, Article 36. Loyalty and devotion to the Greco-Christian ideals is by law required of all educational personnel.

Local control of education is totally alien to the Greeks. According to a law passed in 1932, local school boards were to be created in each district to represent the local community, the parents, and the school. The members were supposed to be elected; however, in practice, because of lack of appropriate election machinery and procedures, the members of the board are appointed by the political authorities. For all practical purposes, school boards do not participate in major educational decisions at the local level; they have very little power over school issues and policies.

Private Education

In addition to state-supported schools, the Constitution provides for the establishment and operation of private schools. Article 16 of the 1952 Constitution states:

> After special license of the appropriate authority, individuals, not deprived of their political rights. . . are allowed to establish schools which must function according to the provisions of the Constitution and the laws of the State.

Article 17 of the Constitution of 1968 has added:

> . . . Those who establish private schools as well as those who teach in them must have the moral qualities and the qualifications required for civil servants, according to the law.

Private schools come under the jurisdiction and supervision of the Ministry of National Education and Religions. They include nursery and elementary schools, *gymnasia*, commercial schools, technical and vocational schools, which are mostly evening schools.

All private schools are inspected by the same inspectors responsible for the state schools of the area, while in the Ministry of Education there is a special directorate for private education. Transfer of pupils from private to state schools can take place after special examinations. In order to get an authorized school-leaving certificate, graduates of private *gymnasia* and other private secondary schools must sit for examinations administered by a state committee.

Financing and Costs of Education

State education is financed almost exclusively by the State whose main source for school support is taxation. There is a very small contribution from the municipalities. Until recently, secondary schools charged a tuition fee but now both levels of education are free.

Total public recurrent expenditures have been less than 10 per cent of total public recurrent expenditures (in 1969 they were 8.8 per cent, and in 1971, 9.7 per cent). Capital expenditures for 1971 were 8.8 per cent of the total investment budget. Before 1963, the total expenditures on education amounted to 7-8 per cent of the national budget. On another index, it has been estimated that in 1969 recurrent and capital expenditures amounted to 2.6 per cent of GNP. And if it is assumed that expenditures on private education amounted to 30 per cent of total public, then total private and public expenditures in the same year (1969) amounted to 3.4 per cent of GNP. These are low percentages compared to other O.E.C.D. countries and, according to a report by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Greece "is in the lowest quartile of the 40 countries that the Bank has assisted in education."[7]

Organization of Schools and Curriculum

The present organization of schools is based on Law 129/1967 and the already mentioned Law 651/1970. The first was published in the Government Gazette, No. 163, of September 25, 1967, five months after the military took over the reins of government.[8] The junta was determined to undo the educational reforms of the Papandreou government and return to earlier forms and ideas.

General education consists of state (public) and private primary, secondary, and vocational education. Primary education includes kindergartens (ages 3.5-5.5) and six-year elementary schools (ages 5.5-11.5); secondary education consists of the gymnasion which is divided into a three-year lower (ages 11.5-14.5) and a three-year upper cycle (ages 14.5-17.5). Admission into the first cycle of the gymnasion takes place after the passing of entrance examinations. Compulsory attendance extends over six years (up to age 12) and all types and levels of general education are free in the state (public) schools.

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[7] International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Office Memorandum, July 8, 1971, p. 9.

[8] Kingdom of Greece, Government Gazette, No. 163, September 25, 1967. Hereafter cited as Law 129/1967 (in Greek).

Kindergartens

In the kindergarten the aim is to facilitate the physical and psychological development of the child through appropriate exercises and games, and to acquire good personal and social habits such as cleanliness, obedience, and order.

Elementary Schools

The aims of the elementary schools have been stated as:

> "(a) The instilling in the child's "soul" love of the Greek fatherland, of the Orthodox Christian faith and the moral (ethical) life.
> (b) The acquisition of the correct (right) view of the world around them according to their level of understanding.
> (c) The smooth adjustment of pupils to the school environment and an understanding of the binding of the individual with social life. . .
> (d) The acquisition of good habits, specially diligence, proper conduct (behavior) and sociability.
> (e) The development of their oral and written linguistic abilities.
> (f) The acquisition of reading, writing and computational skills." (Law 129, Article 7).

The subjects of the curriculum were specified as: religion, Greek language (reading, writing, oral exercises, folk tales, grammar, study of texts in the "national language"), history, study of the Greek environment, chemistry and physics with elements of hygiene, geography, arithmetic and geometry, civics, crafts, music and physical education. The weekly distribution of instructional hours is indicated in Table IV.

The objectives content, and sequence of each subject at each grade level are spelled out in great detail, and teachers are required to abide by them.[9] In addition, teachers are expected to follow certain pedagogical procedures, e.g., "Unified Teaching" (Heniaia Didaskalia).

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[9] See *Hōrologeion Kai Analytikon Programma Mathematōn Demotikou Scholeiou 1969-70* (Timetable and Program of Studies of the Elementary School). Didaskalikē Homospondia tēs Hellados, 1969. Hereafter cited as *Hōrologeion Programma, 1969-70.*

TABLE IV

PROGRAM OF STUDIES OF SIX-ROOM ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS* WITH WEEKLY HOURS ALLOTTED PER SUBJECT (1969-1970)

Subjects	Instructional Weekly Hours By Class (Grade)					
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
1. Religion	2	2	2	2	3	3
2. Greek (Modern)	9	9	10	10	9	9
3. History	-	-	2	2	2	2
4. Study of Greek Environment (religious, social, physical, cultural)	4	6	-	-	-	-
5. Physics, Chemistry and Elements of Hygiene	-	-	3	3	4	4
6. Geography	-	-	3	3	2	2
7. Arithmetic and Geometry	3	3	4	4	5	5
8. Civics	-	-	-	-	-	1
9. Handicrafts	6/2**	6/2	4	4	4	3
10. Music	3/2	3/2	4/2	4/2	4/2	4/2
11. Gymnastics	3/2	3/2	4/2	4/2	4/2	4/2
Total Weekly Hours of Instruction	24	26	32	32	33	33

*There are some variations regarding five-room, four-room, three-room, two-room, and one-room schools

**Afternoon hours

Source: Horologeion Kai Analytikon Programma Mathematōn Demotikōn Scholeiōn Didaskalike Homospondia tēs Hellados, 1969.

It is clear that Greek elementary schools are expected to impart a specified body of knowledge and to instil a defined set of values (social, religious and political), customs and habits of mind believed to be necessary for intellectual development and socialization. The general intellectual and moral culture of the school and the pedagogical climate are of the "traditional", conservative and what may be called the "consensus" variety. There is little, if any, opportunity in the curriculum for inquiry, conflict, pupil participation or free teacher-pupil interaction. The teacher's role is both "pastoral" and transmitter of knowledge. He is the "mediator" of knowledge and culture that are already given. The pupil is generally perceived as a "tabula rasa", a piece of unformed clay to be moulded into certain prescribed forms. A few examples selected at random from the Program of Studies of 1969-70 (Hōrologeion Kai Analytikon Programma), still in force today, will suffice to illustrate the objectives, the subject-matter details, the values, and the perception of the role of teachers and pupils.

1. Greek Language
   a. Objectives

      The purpose of the teaching of the Greek language in the first and second grades is to enable the pupils to express clearly and succinctly their thoughts and feelings...and to cultivate love of reading so that when they finish the Elementary School they will continue reading useful books...In the fifth and sixth grades, pupils should be able to write legibly, letters of uniform size... From the third grade on, pupils must acquire the habit of reading without moving their lips...

   b. Subject matter

      In the first and second grades: exercises in syllabification, distinction between vowels and consonants, diphthongs, accents and breathings, meaning of verbs, etc.

      In the fourth grade: sentences, articles, declensions of nouns ending in -eus, -is, -ens, -a, -aros, etc.

c. Teaching

In the first grade the teacher should at first use the pictures (cards) of the approved primer ...he can use words or phrases taken from the "Unified Instruction"... The use of ink is not recommended. The teacher should insist that children's writing, on the blackboard or in their copybooks, should be clear, of uniform size... bad writing habits developed early are difficult to eradicate afterwards! Teachers should be careful that stories do not arouse unduly the imagination; they should ~~not~~ exclude stories with terrifying scenes and bad acts... Instead stories should cultivate the moral, religious, social and noble / sentiments...

2. Religion

a. Subject Matter

In the third grade: (1) History of the Old Testament (Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob; the history of Moses and Jesus of Nave; Kings Saoul, David, Solomon; the prophets; Job). (2) Religious songs and poems; (3) Prayers; (4) Geography of the lands of the Old Testament.

b. General Teaching Instructions

(1) An excellent method of the successful teaching of religion, especially in the third and fourth grades, is the teacher's way of presenting (narrating) the material. It must express the teacher's deep religious feeling which should also be manifested in his whole life and behavior in and out of school.

(2) It is deemed absolutely necessary that pupils should participate in ecclesiastical life and worship (regular church attendance, communion, participation in church choirs)...group worship in school through common prayers before and after the lessons, organization of religious festivals in school, and in Christian and philanthropic group activities.

3. History

a. Specific Objectives

(1) Transmission and acquisition (by pupils) of historical knowledge...

(2) Development and cultivation of "historical thought", i.e., understanding of causes of historical events and generally of the process of historical development.

(3) Cultivation of national conscience, the debt to the past, the responsibility for the present and the creation of the future.

(4) The formation of enthusiastic and good ( ) citizens, capable of enlisting themselves in the political and national community and of contributing to the protection of the national heritage and to the development of their country's civilization (culture).

b. Subject Matter

In the third grade: Mythological traditions of the "fathers" of the Greeks, Hercules, Theseus, Argonauts, Trojan War, the wanderings of Odysseus during his return to Ithaca.

In the sixth grade: Greece under the Turks, the Greek Revolution of 1821, Greece as an independent nation, the Cypriot Struggle, the national danger of Communism, the Revolution of the 21st April 1967. (Included under each topic are details regarding particular events, kings, only two political leaders--Trikoupis and Venizelos).

c. Teaching Methods

(1) The teacher's method of presentation should be natural, dramatic, and where appropriate, "captivating", without resorting to rhetorical hyperboles.

(2) Local history should be taught and visits made to historical sites, monuments and museums.

(3) The planning and carrying out of a school atmosphere conducive to the development of healthy national sentiments, the celebration of national holidays, attendance at national memorials in honor of war heroes...
all these contribute greatly to the national cosciousness and system of beliefs of the pupils.

Language:

As with all previous legislation, the language question received attention. The new government reversed the decisions made during the Papandreou years regarding the teaching of demotikē and Katharevousa (the popular and pure forms). It decreed that the popular form should be taught in the first three grades, while a simplified Katharevousa should be taught and used in the upper three elementary grades (Law 129, Article 5). The 1970 Decree limited the teaching of the pure form to the fifth and sixth grades. There it was stated:

> The language taught and used through the first four forms (grades) of Primary Education is the Modern Greek language as it is spoken today all over Greece, cleared of localisms or idioms and comprehensible by the pupils of this age.
>
> The language taught and used through E and F forms (grades) is "apli Katharevousa:" a form of Modern Greek language in which the Constitution and Greek Legislation are written, but in simple structures, cleared of archaisms corresponding to the linguistic feeling of modern Greeks and comprehensible by the pupils of this age. (Decree Law No. 651/1970, Article 25).

One of the major problems of Greek education is the diversity of elementary schools. These are classified under one of four categories, depending upon the number of "rooms" or teachers and upon school enrollment. The four types of elementary schools are: (1) *Monotaxia*, one-room schools with one teacher for all classes, and with a minimum of 15 and a maximum of 40 pupils; (2) *Didaxia*, two-room schools that have two teachers for all classes, with a minimum of 41 and a maximum of 80 pupils; (3) *Tritaxia*, three-room schools that employ three teachers for all classes, with a minimum of 81 and a maximum of 120 pupils; and (4) *Polytaxia*, four-to six-room schools that may have four to six teachers for all classes with a normal enrollment of from 121 to 240 pupils.

A major concern of all educational reformers has been to reduce the number of the first category of schools (*monotaxia*), which constitute about 50 per cent of the total number. In addition, there have been attempts to reduce the dropout rate and there is evidence that these have been quite successful. According to the statistics, furnished by the Committee of Education in 1958, of the total number of students (about 180,000) entering the first grade of the elementary schools, at least one-third did not complete the six-year course. However, according to the estimates in 1972 of another source, of 100 students enrolled in the elementary school, 97-98 are able to finish the course.[10]

Secondary schools:
The aims of the lower cycle of the *gymnasion* were stated as:

> (a) Introduction into the spirit of the Helleno-Christian civilization through the study of selected classical and Orthodox Christian texts in the original, and of at least one classical work for each "class" in translation into simplified *Katharevousa*.

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[10] C.I. Tsimboukis, *Compulsory Education in Relation to the Organization of Education in Greece. Memorandum to the Committee on Education*, January, 1972, manuscript.

(b) Through further study of the modern Greek language, of selected works of modern Greek literature and the history of the Nation, to become conscious of the unbroken intellectual and linguistic unity and continuity of our National life and of the historic and civilizing mission of our Greek Nation.

(c) Orientation toward the contemporary scientific development, especially as regards its application to technological and practical life.

(d) Introduction into contemporary problems in order to become good citizens and active and creative members of the Community.

(e) Further development of the physical and intellectual powers, particularly critical thinking and initiative . . .

(f) Development of strong national, religious and moral beliefs (convictions).

(g) Acquisition of virtues, especially justice, sociability, cooperation and truth-telling, and development of character and high morals.

(h) Knowledge of the economic and natural resource potential of the country, its human resources and professional potential, . . .

(i) Preparation for studies in the upper cycle of the gymnasion, the secondary level vocational school or for professional life. (Law 129, Article 8)

The curriculum of the lower cycle of the gymnasion includes the following subjects: religion, Greek language and literature, a foreign language (English or French), history, civics, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, vocational guidance, hygiene, gymnastics and athletics, crafts, music, and home economics for girls. (Law 129, Article 8)

The stated aims of the upper cycle of the gymnasion are an elaboration and further development of those of the lower cycle. Selected works of the classical Greek and Orthodox Christian literature are to be studied in the original. Further: (a) Students are to develop a wider understanding of the ancient Greek civilization and its significance in laying the foundation of the contemporary Western European civilization; (b) They are to become conscious of the "unparalleled self-sacrifice and energy which the Greek Nation

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has displayed" as well as of the "high meaning of its [the Nation's] heroic struggles, etc . . .;" (c) They are to broaden further their intellectual horizons through an understanding of "progress in the sciences and its application;" (d) They are to become conscious of contemporary social, political and national problems, and good and constructive citizens; and (e) They are to be prepared for admission into institutions of higher learning or into "professional life". (Law 129, Article 9).

The 1967 Law provided that after the fourth *gymnasion* class (grade 10), there will be diversification into two branches: (a) theoretical with emphasis on humanistic education in which will be included Latin language and literature, and (b) positive (scientific) with emphasis on mathematics and the positive sciences. (Article 9). The 1970 Law provided for *three* options in the "higher-stage day high-schools," i.e., the upper cycle. These were: (a) general, (b) theoretical, and (c) positive (scientific). In addition, evening "high schools" (general or economic), economic, and maritime high schools already in operation were to be maintained.

The curriculum of all branches or options of the upper cycle includes: religion, ancient Greek language and literature, history, elements of philosophy, psychology and logic, civics, mathematics, cosmography, geography, physics and chemistry, hygiene, foreign language (English or French), physical education and athletics, technical studies, music, and home economics for girls. The weekly distribution of instructional hours in the lower and upper cycles of the practical and theoretical *gymnasion* are indicated in Tables V and VI.

The school-leaving certificate of the *gymnasia* will entitle its recipient to sit for the entrance examinations to institutions of higher learning. (Decree Law No. 651/1970, Article 14).

TABLE V

PROGRAM OF STUDIES OF THE "PRACTICAL" (SCIENTIFIC) GYMNASION WITH WEEKLY HOURS ALLOTED PER SUBJECT (1969)

Subjects	Instructional Hours						
	Lower Cycle			Upper Cycle			
	Classes			Classes			
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	TOTAL
1. Religion	2	2	2	3	2	2	13
2. Modern Greek (Lang. & Lit.)	4	4	4	4	4	4	24
3. Classical Greek (Lang. & Lit.)	5	6	6	6	5	4	32
4. History	3	3	3	3	3	2	17
5. Elements of Philosophy, Psychology and Logic	-	-	-	-	2	2	4
6. Civics	-	-	1/2	-	-	1	1-1/2
7. Vocational Orientation and Vocational Guidance	-	-	1/2	-	-	-	1/2
8. Mathematics	4	4	4	6	6	7	31
9. Cosmography	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
10. Geography	2	1	2	1	1	-	7
11. Physics	2	3	3	5	5	6	24
12. Biology	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
13. Anthropology	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
14. Foreign Languages	3	3	3	2	2	2	15
15. Hygiene, First Aid	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
16. Physical Elevation	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
17. Handicrafts	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
18. Music	1	1	1	1	-	-	4
19. Home Economics for Girls	2	1	1	1	1	-	6
Total (men)	30	33	34	35	36	36	204
Total (women)	32	34	35	36	37	36	209

Source: Kingdom of Greece, Government Gazette, No. 225, Nov. 10, 1969, P. 1673

TABLE VI

PROGRAM OF STUDIES OF THE "THEORETICAL" (CLASSICAL) GYMNASION WITH WEEKLY HOURS ALLOTTED PER SUBJECT (1969)

Subjects	Instructional Hours						
	Lower Cycle			Upper Cycle			
	Classes			Classes			
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	TOTAL
1. Religion	2	2	2	3	2	2	13
2. Modern Greek (Lang. & Lit.)	4	4	4	4	4	4	24
3. Classical Greek (Lang. & Lit.)	5	6	6	7	7	8	39
4. History	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
5. Elements of Philosophy, Psychology and Logic	-	-	-	-	2	2	4
6. Civics	-	-	1/2	-	-	1	1-1/2
7. Vocational Orientation and Guidance	-	-	1/2	-	-	-	1/2
8. Mathematics	4	4	4	4	4	4	24
9. Cosmography	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
10. Geography	2	1	2	1	1	-	7
11. Physics	2	3	3	3	3	3	17
12. Biology	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
13. Anthropology	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
14. Foreign Languages	3	3	3	2	2	2	15
15. Latin (Lang. & Lit.)	-	-	-	3	3	2	8
16. Hygiene, First Aid	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
17. Physical Education	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
18. Handicrafts	1	1	1	1	-	-	4
19. Music	1	1	1	1	-	-	4
20. Home Economics for Girls	2	1	1	1	1	-	6
Total (men)	30	33	34	35	36	36	204
Total (women)	32	34	35	36	37	36	210

Source: Kingdom of Greece, Government Gazette, No. 225, Nov. 10, 1969, P. 1609

As with elementary education, the purposes, content and teaching approach of the secondary school curriculum are prescribed in detail and are published in the Government Gazette.[11] A brief discussion of some of the objectives and the subject-matter would help shed some light on the nature, scope and functions of the Greek curriculum. There are the informational cognitive goals: to convey established forms of knowledge in the humanities, the social studies and the sciences, and to develop intellectual skills (ability to reason, remember, and observe, to explicate the meaning of texts, to express oneself clearly and precisely, to understand and use the "scientific method", etc.). Such subjects as ancient and modern Greek, history, and civics are also studied for their social, cultural, and national values. They are referred to as the "belief-forming" (phrōnematistika) subjects and they are expected to "socialize" (initiate) the student into the Greek national culture and to cultivate his "national conscience".

Greeks, like most people, glorify and romanticize their past, extol and exaggerate their achievements while paying scant attention to those of others, and emphasize what they believe are uniquely Greek virtues and attributes. Modern Greek, for example, is expected to contribute to an understanding and appreciation of the accomplishments, virtues and sacrifices of the Greek people and their national heroes. Virtues include faith in "the religion of our fathers", love of family and of "pure habits and customs", devotion to the fatherland, hospitality, generosity, initiative, etc. In history, the "unique character" and contributions of the ancient and Byzantine civilizations are stressed. Teachers are required, for example, to emphasize the contributions of the Byzantines in the preservation of European civilization and Christianity, and in the "Christianization" of European culture. At the same time, they must teach about the forced conversion to Islam of the Greeks by the Ottoman Turks, about the Ottoman "piracies", conquests and reduction into captivity of Greek children and adults.

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[11] For the curriculum of the gymnasion in force today, see Ephemeris tes Kyvernēseōs (Government Gazette), No. 225, Athens, Nov. 10, 1969.

Family, religion (the Orthodox Church) and nation (ethnos) have always been central concepts and institutions in the Greek socio-political and educational culture, and hence in the socialization or "belief-formation" of the young. In the syllabi of the humanities and the social studies there are several references to these aspects of Greek culture. Teachers are expected to emphasize their unique Greek features as well as their importance in the life of the individual and the viability of society.

In the syllabi of history and civics in force today, however, there are some new elements that are in accord with the ideology and orientation of the post-1967 regime. There is reference to the significance of the "political unity of the nation". Teachers are expected to emphasize this and to point to the threat of communism, the deleterious effects of internal political strife, the evils of alcoholism, gambling, the dangers of demagoguery and anarchy, and finally, extol the "National Revolution of April 21, 1967." Further, there should be instruction in human liberties, but also in the national danger of taking advantage of such liberties, and in the legitimacy of the state to protect freedom. Finally, the syllabus includes an item on the need to declare states of emergency because of external and internal dangers.*

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*Since this was written the military government has fallen and a civilian government under Constantine Karamanles has been formed. It is expected that glorified references to the coup d'etat of April 21, 1967, will be eliminated.

Technical and Vocational Education

As shown earlier (Chps. V and VI), in the last two decades technical and vocational education has been a subject of concern, controversy, some administrative rearrangements, but very little substantive change. Yet, the relatively slow pace of reform cannot be solely attributed to government inertia, nor to any paucity of plans. As is true of this type of education in other countries, it must be sought in the educational attitudes or "educational culture" of the society, the institutionalization of such attitudes in the school system, the occupational and social structure, the incentives and rewards accruing from different kinds of schooling, the employment opportunities and practices, and the rate of development. As often discussed in this study, the Greek educational tradition with its emphasis on the Hellenic and Christian conception of knowledge, values, and intellectual development has not been conducive to the growth of technical education in the schools. The educational system reflected and helped reinforce societal values and the interests of influential groups, e.g., the Church, the Universities, the Academy of Athens and several religious and cultural organizations. To these, the Hellenic-Christian ideal was coextensive with Greek national "paideia". Further, the structure of the system has been such that only graduates of the *gymnasia* could hope to enter the universities, the *Polytechneion* (Polytechnic), or other "superior" institutions, and thereby higher status occupations. In the main, technical and vocational school graduates would qualify for lesser jobs, would not be regarded as well educated as the gymnasium students and would generally feel short-changed. A possible exception to this are those attending the "Higher Technical/Vocational" Institutions*[12] and the very recently established (1973-74)

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[12] *These are four-year schools following secondary education (general or technical(for sub-engineers (civil, mechanical, electrical), electronics technicians, and maritime workers.

Higher Technical Education Centers (K.A.T.E.).[13] Yet, the Higher Technical/Vocational schools are not on the same par as the universities, the university-level schools or the National Metsovion Polytechnic in Athens, and the vast majority (in some specialties 100 per cent) of those admitted from 1965-66 to 1970-71 were graduates of the gymnasia, not the middle-level (secondary) technical schools.[14] The relatively low priority given to this form of education is also reflected in the fact that until the last fifteen years or so it was almost exclusively in the hands of private agencies and individuals. What little public provision was made was the responsibility of ministries other than the Ministry of Education and Religions. Even today, the private sector accounts for a substantial proportion of specialties, places, and facilities. In 1972-73, private schools enrolled 65 per cent of students in the lower technical/vocational schools and 75 per cent in the middle schools.[15] In 1970-71, 44.5 per cent of students in higher technical institutions were enrolled in private schools.[16]

The present organization of technical/vocational education is governed by the provisions of Legislative Decrees 3971 and 580, passed in 1959 and 1970 respectively. There are three levels of technical/vocational schools--lower, middle (secondary), and higher--each of which consists of a variety of specialties.

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[13] Five K.A.T.E. opened in 1973-74, specializing in mechanical technology, farm technology, business management, paramedical services, graphic arts, etc.

[14] See Ministry of National Education and Religions, Technical/Vocational Education, Athens: March, 1972, p. 73 (in Greek). Hereafter cited Technical/Vocational Education, 1972.

[15] From statistics provided by the Ministry of Education, General Directorate of "Vocational" Education.

[16] Computed from statistics in Technical/Vocational Education, 1972, p. 82.

Lower Technical/Vocational Schools

A large number of students in these schools are trained to be mechanics and electricians (29,710 out of a total of 49,361 in 1972-73). Generally the course is three or four years after successful completion of the elementary school (ages 12-14 or 15). Students are admitted to lower technical/vocational schools without any entrance examinations. Attendance in the public schools is free. In order to receive a certificate equivalent to that of public schools, those who finish private schools must pass examinations set up by the Ministry of Education and Religions.

There has been a steady increase in enrollments in these schools since 1964-65. In that year, there were 31,114 students. By 1972-73 the number had risen to 49,361. As might be expected, the heaviest concentration of technical/vocational students is in the Athens-Piraeus and Salonica areas (54 per cent in 1972-73).

According to a report by the Ministry of Education in 1973, the government is planning ultimately to abolish the lower level of technical/vocational education "because the qualifications obtained from its schools are thought to be insufficient to a vocational career".[17]

Middle Technical/Vocational Schools

The middle-level technical and vocational schools are the "backbone" of Greek "vocational" education. From 1964-65 to 1972-73, enrollments in both public and private institutions increased substantially from 22,602 to 58,407. Areas of specialization in these schools include electricians, mechanics, draftsmen, rural surveyors, maritime mechanics, accountants, foremen, medical technicians, etc. Close to 80 per cent of students are concentrated in the Athens-Piraeus and Salonica areas.

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[17] Hellenic Republic, Ministry of National Education and Religion, Report on Developments of Education in Greece in the Years 1971-73 to the 34th Meeting of the International Conference on Education of UNESCO, Athens: August, 1973, Hereafter cited as Report, 1972-73.

The course of study generally is of three or four years duration (ages 15 to 17 or 18). Admission into these schools presupposes completion of lower-level technical or vocational schools, or the lower stage of the general schools (gymnasia) and the passing of entrance examinations.

Higher Technical/Vocational Schools

This level of technical/vocational education is intermediate between the middle-level schools and the university-level polytechnics. Holders of leaving certificates from middle-level technical/vocational schools or gymnasia are admitted after passing entrance examinations. The course of study is four years and specialties include sub-engineers (civil, mechanical, electrical), electronics technicians, and maritime workers. In 1965-66 there were 5,698 students attending this type of higher institutions; by 1971-72, the number rose to 6,493.

Other Technical/Vocational Schools

In addition to the levels and types of schools described above, there are several other vocationally or technically-oriented institutions between one to three years' duration. They include ecclesiastical schools (middle and higher-level), schools for social workers, nurses, midwives, physiotherapists, hotel managers, singers (conservatories), etc.

In 1970, Legislative Decree No. 652 authorized the establishment of five Higher Technical Education Centers, known as K.A.T.E., in Athens, Salonica, Patras, Larissa, and Heracleion (Crete). Like the existing higher technical schools, K.A.T.E. were to be intermediate between the middle-level technical schools and the university-level polytechnics. Admission into them would require the holding of a school-leaving certificate from a gymnasion or a middle-level technical school, and the passing of an entrance examination. Their purpose was stated as "the education (training) of higher-level technical personnel in order to contribute to the development of the national economy." Such education would include "theoretical study, training in factories (workshops) and supervised on-the-job training".[18] K.A.T.E. would provide areas of specialization for mechanical technologists, farm technologists, paramedics, graphic artists, business personnel, etc. The length of study would vary from one to three years.

A report by the Ministry of Education in 1973 noted that K.A.T.E. were to start in 1973-74. It was expected that 3,000 students would be admitted and that for the preliminary period 1971-73, a sum of 90,789,000 drachmas ($3,026,300) was allotted.[19]

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[18] Kingdom of Greece, Government Gazette, No. 180, Athens, August 29, 1970, (in Greek).

[19] Report, 1971-73, p. 6.

Expansion, Distribution, and Opportunities

In Table VII enrollments are shown over time in the various levels and types of education. It is clear that since 1954-55 primary school enrollments have shown relatively little increase and this is undoubtedly due to the very low population growth (less than 1 per cent annually). On the other hand, enrollments in other levels have increased substantially; at the "higher level", including higher technical, they have soared from 16,900 in 1954-55 to 78,000 in 1972-73, i.e., by almost 500 per cent. These overall data show that since approximately 1958-59, the flow of students from primary into secondary and from secondary into higher has increased dramatically. From this it can be inferred that in the last fifteen years or so the social demand for education has gone up. In this connection, it is interesting to note that, despite the almost fourfold increase of technical education, general secondary education has shown a relatively larger expansion in terms of numbers. This phenomenon, as indicated in previous chapters, has occupied the attention of policy-makers and planners who have argued that, for purposes of development, there should be a greater flow of students into the technical and vocational schools.

A graphic way of looking at the size and distribution of the Greek educational enterprise is the "education pyramid" shown in Figure A. The pyramid was based on the 1967-68 statistics. In general, however, the shape for today would not look markedly different. Among other things, this figure shows the relative distribution of general and technical/vocational education, boys and girls (generally fewer girls than boys, particularly at the secondary level), and the progressively selective character of secondary and higher education. More recent data and estimates on this last point indicate the following:

a. The drop-out rate in primary schools, which had always been of concern in Greece, has been substantially reduced, although not eliminated. One writer has estimated that the likelihood of those in the first grade of the elementary

TABLE VII
NUMBER OF STUDENTS ENROLLED AT VARIOUS LEVELS OF EDUCATION

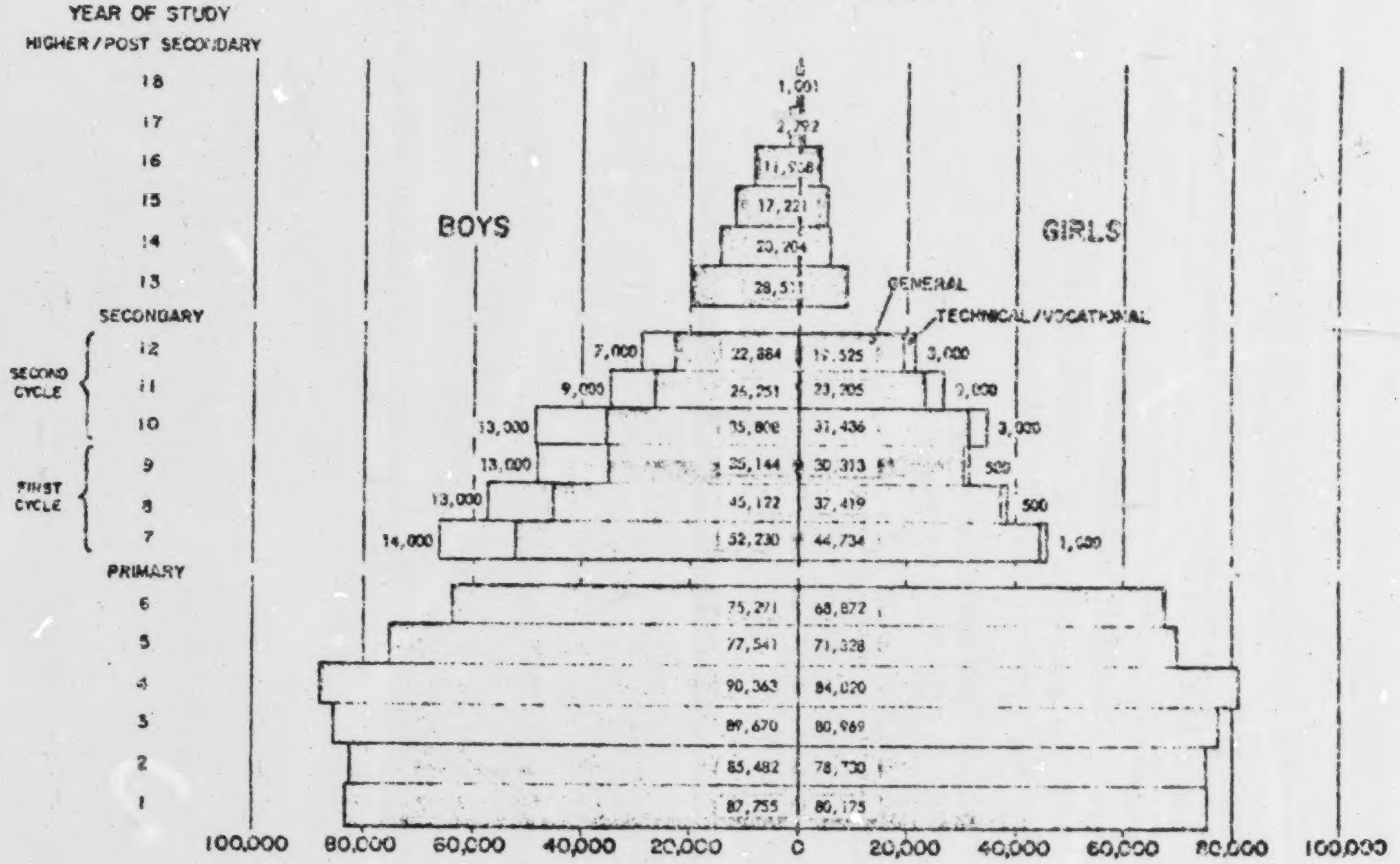
Year	Primary Schools		Secondary General Schools		Lower and Middle Technical Schools		Higher Institutions	Higher Technical
	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	Excluding Higher Technical	
1929-30	676,779		87,315 (1928-1929)					
1950-51								
1954-55	892,900	50,900	183,100	25,500	2,600	24,200	16,900	
1956-57	884,021	52,708	174,250	28,477	25,097		20,855	
1958-59	943,897	45,394	210,950	36,806			22,862	
1959-60	949,153	45,657	222,250	40,254			25,413	
1960-61	835,200	60,700	233,490 (227,100)	44,306 (46,200)	2,485 (6,500)	39,725 (37,500)	28,100	
1963-64	893,715	50,296	260,840	54,266	4,322	46,597	43,441	
1964-65	917,275	40,584	301,921	47,665	5,020	50,537	53,305	
1970-71	856,748	65,488	402,710	58,770	19,514	67,698	86,741	
1971-72					96,903			
1972-73	838,296		428,600		26,000	73,000	75,000	3,000

Sources: George M. Wilcox, Education in Modern Greece (New York, 1933); National Statistical Service of Greece, Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1957 (Athens: National Printing Office, 1958); Ministry of National Education and Religion Studies and Coordination Service, Bulletin of the Studies and Coordination Service, Vol. V, No. 6, (Athens, 1962--in Greek); Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Education and Development, The Mediterranean Regional Project: Greece (Paris, 1965); National Statistical Service of Greece I, 29, Education Memorandum, July 8, 1971; Costas Tsimboukis, Compulsory Education as Related to the Total Organization of Education in Greece, 1972; Ministry of National Education and Religions, Technical/Vocational Education, Athens, March, 1972, (in Greek); Hellenic Republic, Ministry of National Education and Religion, Report on Developments of Education in Greece in the Years 1971-1973, Athens, August, 1973 (mimeographed).

FIGURE 1

GREECE: EDUCATION PYRAMID

ENROLLMENT BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, 1967-68



NOTE: Figures for higher education are totals; figures for primary are end-of-year enrollments; figures for technical are rounded.

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schools finishing after six years during the period 1956-69 was 95 per cent.[20] However, if we compare the number registered in the first grade in one year with those five years later, we arrive at somewhat different conclusions. For example, in 1955-56, 172,185 students registered in the first grade; in 1960-61, the number who graduated was 133,509, that is 38,676 students or 22.4 per cent less. Similarly in 1963-64, 171,009 students were registered in the first grade; in 1968-69, the number who graduated stood at 144,161, that is 26,848, or 15.7 per cent less.[21]

b. In 1969-70, 162,724 students graduated from primary schools. Of this number, 90,100 proceeded to the first cycle of secondary general education, and 13,742 to lower vocational schools (these represent about 55 per cent and 8.6 per cent respectively). About 36.4 per cent (58,882) did not continue their education beyond the primary school. By contrast, of the 61,132 who had completed first cycle, 60,068 or about 90 per cent proceeded to the upper cycle. Continuing along these lines, we find that of the 45,735 who completed their gymnasion studies, 16,273 or 35.5 per cent entered university-status higher institutions, and 18,724 or about 44 per cent, institutions of higher learning (this category includes university-status institutions).[22]

Not unexpectedly, therefore, the greatest degree of selection occurs at the points of entry into the secondary schools (age 12+), which also marks the termination of compulsory education, and institutions of higher learning (age 18+).

c. Another way of presenting the flow of students and the degree of selection is to be found in the estimates made by C. Tsimboukis. He has calculated that of 100 students entering the first grade of primary schools:

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[20] Tsimboukis, Op. Cit., p. 30.

[21] Ibid., p. 34. Also see enrollment statistics in International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Op. Cit., Annex 5.

[22] Computed from statistics found in Tsimboukis, Op. Cit., p. 47.

98 finish the primary school course

61 enter the first cycle of secondary general education

43 complete the three-year first-cycle and continue into the three-year second cycle

33 finish the gymnasion

14 enter university-status higher institutions

9 graduate from university-status higher institutions.[23]

d. The highest drop-out rates, while at school, occur in the secondary schools (the gymnasion). For example, in 1962-63, 72,783 students were enrolled in the first class of the secondary stage (grade 8). In 1967-68, only 40,404 students were to be found in the sixth class (grade 12).[24]

e. Generally there are more boys than girls enrolled at all levels of education; and they have higher chances of remaining in school and completing elementary, secondary and higher schools.

f. While almost all primary school-age children attend school, only 59 per cent of the appropriate age group attend secondary schools (general and technical), and 10.8 per cent of the appropriate age group attend higher institutions.[25]

At the beginning of this report (Chapter I) it was stated that there were regional and other, e.g., sex, socio-economic, disparities in educational attainment and distribution. More detailed statistical data on such disparities are presented below.

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[23] Ibid., p. 48.

[24] International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Op. Cit., Annex 5.

[25] Ibid., Annex 4.

Taking Greece as a whole, in 1971, 14.2 per cent of the population 10 years of age and over was illiterate, 33.3 per cent did not complete elementary school, 49.5 per cent completed elementary school, but only 10.8 per cent completed secondary school (gymnasion), and 2.9 per cent, higher education. Women's educational attainment, in terms of level of literacy and level of education, was consistently lower than that of men. While among men 6.3 per cent were listed as illiterate, among women there were 21.7 per cent. Similarly, 26.5 per cent of males as against 39.6 per cent of females did not complete elementary school; 55.4 per cent of males as against 43.9 per cent of females completed elementary school; and 4.3 per cent of men as against 1.6 per cent of women completed higher education. Another way of presenting these disparities would be: Of all illiterates in Greece, about 78.0 per cent were women; of all those who completed higher education, only 27.0 per cent are women; and 61.4 percent of those who did not complete elementary school were females.[26]

As to regional variations regarding the educational level of the population 10 years and over, the advantageous position of Greater Athens has always been noticeable; and so has the "underprivileged" status of Thrace. On the basis of calculations made of registered students as percentage of total regional population, similar conclusions can be drawn. For example, secondary students in Greater Athens, the Peloponnese and the Aegean Islands have relatively greater access to secondary schools, while those of Thrace have the most limited opportunities.

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[26] These percentages were computed from: National Statistical Service of Greece, Results of the Population and Housing Census, 1971, Sample Elaboration, Vol. I, (Athens, 1973).

Regional variations regarding primary school attendance and drop-outs are not as significantly marked as those of secondary and higher education. In rural regions, however, there is a disproportionately larger number of one-class one-teacher schools (monotaxia), and fewer private schools. Indeed, if one excluded the special schools for the moslem religious minorities in Thrace, all private schools are in the major urban areas, mostly in Athens. On several indices, e.g., school facilities, successes in examinations, etc., private schools in Greece offer a "better" type of education. Thus it can be inferred, although we must stress the absence of empirical data, that the quality of teaching and education in rural regions is lower than that in urban areas.[27] In this connection, one should also mention some highly prestigious and successful private secondary schools, e.g., Athens College for Boys, Pierce College for Girls, also located in Athens, Anatolia College in Salonica, and the Valanyianni School for Girls.

In addition to the aforementioned variations, the distribution of educational opportunity must be assessed on the basis of differences among socio-economic classes. Unfortunately, very little research has been done on this subject in Greece. It is possible, however, to make some generalizations that would not be a distortion of reality. The M. R. P. Report of 1965 correctly noted that "the differences in educational opportunities in Greece are not so blatant as might be expected in a country at her stage of economic development." The Report continued:

> Although private schooling and study abroad are available only to those who can afford them, it is nevertheless true that public primary and secondary schools are free, fees in the universities are very low, and scholarships are awarded. While income foregone is an important factor for many families, it is not especially so in rural areas because of high rates of underemployment, and because seasonal peak labour demands often coincide with school holidays.[28]

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[27] Also see M.R.P. Report, pp. 63-64.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 65. Since the above was written all public education is free.

CHAPTER VIII

HIGHER EDUCATION

This level of education in Greece consists of a variety of post-secondary institutions. The Greek terminology distinguishes between "higher" and "highest" or "supreme" education. The latter refers to the universities, the National Metsovion Polytechnic, and "university-level" institutions, while the former, i.e., "higher", to post -secondary schools not legally enjoying university or "highest" status. It would be well, therefore, to examine these two categories separately.

Highest (University-Level) Education

Currently there are 11 "highest" educational institutions, four universities (Athens, Salonica, Patras, Ioannina), the National Metsovion Polytechnic in Athens, and six "highest schools" (the Piraeus and Salonica Schools of Industrial Studies, the Athens School of Agricultural and Earth Sciences, the School of Economic and Commercial Sciences, the School of Fine Arts, and the Panteios School of Political Sciences).

In 1971-73, 75,000 students attended courses in these establishments.[1] Of these, the universities of Athens and Salonica enrolled 50,000, i.e., about 70 per cent of the total. The two "Social Science" schools (Panteios and Economic and Commercial Sciences) registered 11,777 students in 1971, and the Polytechnic, 3,766; the recently established universities of Patras and Ioannina, 1,220 and 1,313, respectively; and the two "Industrial" schools, 5,408 students.

The demand for "superior" education in recent years has been very high, while the available places have been rather limited. In September, 1973, 55,000 candidates registered for the entrance examinations into "higher" and "highest" institutions. There were only 15,640 available places of which 13,500 were in university-level institutions. The ratio of candidates to places ranged from 2:1 in the fields of agriculture and forestry to 6.4:1 in medicine and 7.4:1 in pharmacy. Even in such crowded fields as law and "philology", the ratios were 3.2:1 and 3.1:1 respectively. The Athenian daily To Vema aptly characterized the competition as a "fierce battle."[2]

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[1] Report, 1971-73, p. 7

The Universities and the State

Constitutionally, the "highest" educational institutions have "legal independence" or are "self-administered" under the supervision of the State, through the Ministry of National Education and Religions. They are thus public establishments, supported by the State, and subject to public law. Professors are civil servants. Their internal governance, the number of various ranks of the teaching staff (professors, instructors, assistants, etc.) and the system and terms of their appointment, the number of academic chairs, the system of examinations (entrance, yearly, and final) and grading, the student unions, the method of distributing textbooks and other teaching materials to the students, the libraries, disciplinary codes, etc., are all regulated by legislative decrees. Thus, despite autonomy in internal affairs, virtually every aspect of activity by professors, students, and administration is subject to government surveillance.

These institutions, particularly the two older universities (Athens and Salonica) and the National Polytechnic, have played an important role in the political, economic and social life of the country. They have been the main agencies for the recruitment and training of a sizeable majority of Greek leaders, especially in the civil bureaucracy, the professions, public and private business corporations, the school system, and the Church. Many political leaders have attended the two universities, especially the Schools of Law and Medicine. And, as Keith Legg has demonstrated, "the graduates and students of law from the two universities have a near-monopoly of the higher civil-service positions."[3] The Schools of Law and Medicine at Athens and Salonica have also furnished consistently since 1843, the largest number of ministers (during periods of relative stability over 50 per cent) and top leaders (during the periods 1910-36 and 1946-65 about 80 per cent).[4] And the Theological School of the University of Athens "has trained most of Greece's priests, preachers, bishops, archbishops and teachers of religion."[5]

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[2] To Vema, September 2, 1973

Professors have sat on important policy-making commissions and served in the government at various high-level posts (ministers, general secretaries, directors-general, etc.). Professors and students have often taken active parts in the political life of the nation. The politicization, one might say, of the Greek university dates back to the early period of the Othonian University (the University of Athens). Professors and students participated in the political upheavals of 1843, when King Otto was forced to accept the first Greek Constitution and expel many of his Bavarian advisers, and 1862, when he was forced to abdicate. There were student demonstrations, protests and armed conflicts with the police in

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[3] Keith R. Legg, Politics in Modern Greece (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 282.

[4] Ibid, p. 303

[5] See Demetrios J. Tarrou, "Genesis, Origin, and Development of the National and Kapodistrian University, 1837-1936," Ph.D. Thesis, New York University, 1968, p. 156. Tarrou refers to the period 1837-1936, but this generalization would also hold true for the years since.

1857, 1859 and 1860. In 1857, the students protested a decision by A. Rangabe (a professor and at the time Minister of the Interior) to organize political parties they did not consider appropriate. In 1859, demonstrations began when students wearing a particular form of locally made straw hat were attacked by other students wearing imported style hats which were regarded as symbols of royalism. The brawl brought in the police, students then marched towards the Palace calling for the dismissal of the head of the gendarmerie. The army stepped in, stormed the buildings, the university was closed for seven days and the Chief of Police was dismissed. And in 1860, the Law School was closed for a year following student demonstrations against N. Kostēs, a professor of criminal law.[6]

There have been numerous other episodes involving the universities, the police, and the government. Suffice to mention here the bloody riots at the turn of the twentieth century over the language question, and those of November, 1973, against the military regime of Colonel Papadopoulos. In 1901 and 1903, students and professors of the University of Athens were incited and mobilized against the translation of ancient Greek texts and the Bible into the popular language (demotikē) and in favor of retaining the pure form (katharevousa). Ostensibly over an educational-linguistic problem, the riots soon acquired major political proportions. Among other things, they resulted in the besieging by the students of the palace and the demand for the dethronement of the King and Queen (George I and Olga), in considerable vandalism and ultimately the overthrow of the government. In November, 1973, students at the National Polytechnic barricaded themselves inside the school's buildings, government tanks smashed through the gates, fighting ensued between students and soldiers who stormed through, and hundreds were killed or injured. Soon after, the Papadopoulos military regime was replaced by the one in power today.[7]

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[6] See Costas Papapanos, Historical Chronicle of Our Highest Education (Athens: Pierce College, 1970), pp. 419ff (in Greek).

Government interference in such events has not been limited to squelching riotous students or maintaining order. It has also entailed the dismissal of professors, the expulsion of students, sometimes their trial and imprisonment, suspension of classes, and even the closing of the institutions. This has made the position of professors rather precarious, especially during periods of major internal political crisis, like the current one. Since 1967, professors have been and can be suspended, if, in the opinion of the authorities, they have engaged or are suspected of being engaged in activities not befitting their position, or simply if they do not espouse the "correct" social beliefs. This may mean simply opposition to or criticism of the regime.

In this connection it would be appropriate to mention that in 1932 a "government overseer" (epitropos) was appointed in the Universities of Athens and Salonica, an office which later was instituted in all highest institutions. This clearly restricted further the "autonomy" of these establishments. In 1968, the military government incorporated this provision in the Constitution, and proceeded to appoint retired military officers as "government overseers." (Previously they were recruited mostly from the ranks of professors.) The "government overseer" takes part in the meetings of the Senate and of the associations of the professors in the various schools. It can be said, therefore, that government control over the universities and the other equivalent institutions is virtually complete.

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[7] For more details on incidents involving the University of Athens in Greek politics during the period 1837-1936, see Demetrios J. Tarrou, op.cit., pp. 115ff

The National Kapodistrian University of Athens

As noted earlier (Chapter II), in 1837, shortly after national independence, a university was established in Athens to cap the newly organized national system of education. It was originally called the University of Otto or Othonian University (after King Otto), and was modelled on the North European (German) counterparts. It included four faculties (theology, philosophy, law, medicine); the professors were directly appointed by the King; it admitted students with a school-leaving certificate from a public gymnasion; and the course of study was three years (shortly afterwards it was changed to four years). In 1862, after King Otto's dethronement, its name was changed to the "National University of Greece" and in 1932 it was renamed the "National and Kapodistrian University of Athens."

In 1882 full professors ceased to be appointed directly by the State, add in 1911-1912 their appointment came under the jurisdiction of each school. It should be remembered, however, that the decree for the appointment continued to be issued by the government (through the Minister of National Education and Religions) and all ranks of professors continued to be "public employees." Positions for the rank below that of full professor continued to be open to competition.

The internal affairs of the University are administered by the Rector (prytanis) and the Senate (Synkletos), which consists of the Rector, the Vice-Rector (or Rector-Elect), the Deans of the Schools and four members of the Senate (professors). The Rector is the top administrative officer of the University and holds office for a year. The Senate is the governing body.

When it was first established, the School (faculty) of Philosophy included specialization in literature (Latin and Greek), archaeology, history, mathematics, physics, chemistry, rhetoric and ethics. In 1904, it was sub-divided into (a) the School of Philosophical Studies, History and "Philology," and (b) the School of Physical and Mathematical Sciences, or as they are known today, the Philosophical and Physico-Mathematical Schools. The Philosophical School or School of Philosophy comprisees several departments: Philology (languages and literature), History and Archaeology, Philosophy, Ancient Studies, Byzantine amd Medieval Studies, Modern Greek Studies, English Language and Literature (established in 1951), and French Language and Literature (established in 1951). The Physico-Mathematical School includes the Departments of Mathematics, Radioelectronics, Pharmacy, Physics, Chemistry and Physiognostics. Under the Law School there are the Departments of Law and the Department of Political and Economic Sciences. Finally, in 1951, the School of Dentistry acquired full status as a school. Thus today the total number of schools is six: Theology, Philosophy, Physico-Mathematics, Law, Medicine and Dentistry.

Until 1911 tuition at the University was free, except for certain fees for registration and for the diplomas. "Free education" at all levels, including the university, was again introduced in 1963. The military government that assumed power in 1967 extended "free education" to include free textbooks.

Up to 1924-25, admission into the University was based on the successful completion of a public gymnasion and the acquisition of a school-leaving certificate. Since then entrance examinations have been added. The reason given was the "incomplete general education of the students in the gymnasion." But we must consider also the increasing number of students who wanted to gain admission and, therefore, the need for selection.[8] At first all those who were successful were automatically admitted but later (in 1930) the number was restricted even further by the introduction of a numerus clausus, a practice followed in all the "highest" institutions.

Entrance examinations have always been a highly sensitive and controversial issue, and changes have been made quite frequently. For example, in 1964, the Academic Certificate, already referred to (Chapter VI), was introduced, and only the holders of it could register in institutions of "highest" education. The Academic Certificate was awarded after passing competitive examinations in certain subjects, held between September 1 and October 10 in various cities. It was of two types: one, in the humanities, entitling its holders to enter the Schools of Theology, Philosophy and Law in the universities, and the other, in the natural sciences and technology, allowing one to enter the Physico-Mathematical School, the Schools of Dentistry, Medicine, Agriculture and Earth Sciences and Forestry, and the various schools of the National Polytechnic. For admission to all other schools the two types were considered equivalent. In 1967, the Academic Certificate was abolished and entrance examinations were reinstated. Except for the Schools of Medicine and Dentistry, the course of studies in all other faculties is four years. When all requirements have been satisfied and after a successful oral examination, a certificate (ptychion) is awarded on which the overall grade performance and area of specialization are indicated.

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[8] See Papapanos, op.cit., p. 398

As its name indicates, the University of Athens has been perceived as the national institution of Greece. Until the establishment of the University of Salonica it reigned supreme and was pivotal in the educational, cultural, and political life of the country. Most political leaders, intellectuals and other elites had received their university training at the University of Athens. In addition, until recently, most secondary school teachers of literature, religion, history, classics, languages, mathematics, and the sciences were graduates of this university. Athens controlled access to the professions, the world of letters and the arts, and to most educational and political leadership positions.[9] More than that, by tradition dating back to its foundation in 1837, the University of Athens has assumed the role of defining the ideals of Greek culture (paideia). One school in particular, the School of Philosophy, has often assumed the role of defining and articulating the goals and content of Greek education; and it has trained a substantial percentage of educational leaders and secondary school teachers.

In the formulation of educational policy the significance of the Philosophical School has been immense. Policy-makers have often enlisted the cooperation of the School's professors in formulating and carrying through their plans of action. Professors have often been called upon to assume policy-making responsibilities (some, e.g., John Theodōrakopoulos, have served as Ministers of Education), or to be on important commissions

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[9] On the significance of the University of Athens in political elite recruitment and in the "clientage system" in Greek politics, see Legg, op.cit., pp. 278-279, 281-282, 301-305. On the University's role in other spheres, e.g., religion, letters, law, medicine, etc., until 1936, see Tarrou, op.cit., pp. 151-189.

(e.g., the Committee on Education, 1957-1958). In most cases involving changes in education (organization, examinations, teacher training, language, and curriculum in general), the School of Philosophy has deliberated, issued memoranda, made statements to the press, lobbied, and generally sought to influcene educational policy. Its views are never taken lightly; they are discussed in Parliament, in scientific and literary journals, in the press, by teachers' organizations, and at round-table discussions. Still under the influence of German classical neo-humanism and the German educational idealism, the School of Philosophy has been conservative and purist. For example, it has consistently fought against attempts to shorten or drastically modify the study of classics in the secondary schools and the pure language form (Katharevousa).

In 1970, according to official statistics, the total enrollment at the University of Athens was 23,708 students, distributed as follows:[10]

School of Theology		348
Law School		7,688
(a) Dept. of Law	5,318	
(b) Dept. of Political and Economic Sciences	2,370	
Medical School		4,815
Dental School		1,310
School of Philosophy		4,114
(a) Dept. of Philology	1,484	
(b) Dept. of Hist. & Arch.	1,015	
(c) Dept. of English	1,092	
(d) Dept. of French	523	
Physico-Mathematical School		5,433
(a) Dept. of Math	2,510	
(b) Dept. of Radioelectrology	64	
(c) Pharmacy	746	
(d) Physics	846	
(e) Physiognostics	806	
(f) Chemistry	451	
TOTAL		23,708

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[10] Kingdom of Greece, National Statistical Service of Greece, Education Statistics, 1969-70: Highest Education (Athens: 1971), pp. 5, 13. Hereafter cited Education Statistics, 1969-70-Highest

In 1973 it was estimated that there were approximately 27, 000 students attending this university.

The Aristotelian University of Thessalonikē (Salonica)

The second major Greek university was established in 1925 and was named the University of Thessalonikē (Salonica). Its organization and governance were similar to those of the University of Athens. Its affairs were administered by the Rector, the Senate, and the Rector's Council. In most other respects also (e.g., the appointment of professors, the system of examinations, the administration of student affairs, and the like) it resembled the Athens prototype.

The University of Salonica, as originally planned, was to consist of five schools (faculties): Theology, Philosophy, Law (Legal and Economic Sciences), Physical and Mathematical Sciences, and Medicine. However, the Schools of Theology and Medicine did not start operating until 1942. Two other schools, the School of Agriculture and Forestry and the Veterinary School were added in 1937 and 1950 respectively. In 1955-56, a Polytichnical School, equivalent to the National Metsovion Polytechnic in Athens, was established as part of the University, and in 1959, a Department of Dentistry, equivalent to the Dental School in Athens, was added to the departments of the Medical School.

The University of Salonica has a greater diversity of academic units (schools, departments, institutes, etc.) than Athens, The Schools of Agriculture and Forestry and of Veterinary Medicine have already been noted. In 1931, an Institute of Foreign Languages and Philology was added among the units of the School of Philosophy. However, the actual operation of the Institute started later. Today it includes departments of

English, French, German and Italian. The course of study is four years, and graduates are entitled to appoinments in secondary schools. In 1943, an Institute of Byzantine Studies was established as a branch of the University. Its purpose was stated as "the study and research in the ecclesiastical, philological (literary) and artistic work of the Greek lands and their influence on neighboring peoples."[11]

In 1970, 24,595 students were registered at the University of Salonica, representing about 34 per cent of the total student body. Their distribution in the various schools and departments was as follows:

School of Theology		365
Law School		7,512
(a) Dept. of Law	4.798	
(b) Dept. of Economic and Political Sciences	2.714	
Medical School		3,453
Dental School		1,319
School of Philosophy		3,658
(a) Dept. of Philology	1,156	
(b) Dept. of Hist. & Arch.	443	
(c) Dept. of English	664	
(d) Dept. of French	345	
(e) Dept. of German	95	
(f) Dept. of Italian	29	
(g) Dept. of Philology (Ioannina Branch)	926	
Physico-Mathematical School		3,681
(a) Dept. of Math	1,340	
(b) Dept. of Pharmacy	437	
(c) Dept. of Physics	645	
(d) Dept. of Physiognostics	479	
(e) Dept. of Chemistry	347	
(f) Dept. of Math (Ioannina Branch)	433	
Veterinary School		620
School of Agriculture and Forestry		2,133
(a) Agriculture	1,646	
(b) Forestry	487	
Polytechnical School		1,854
(a) Civil Engineering	1,013	
(b) Architecture	519	
(c) Soil Science and Topography	322	

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[11] See Papapanos, op.cit., p. 299

The New Universities (Patras and Ioannina)

The idea of establishing a third university goes back a few years. The Committee on Education (1955-1958) strongly supported it. Among other things, it felt that a third university was necessary to meet the increasing demand for higher education and the manpower needs of development.

The reform plans of the Papandreou government included a university to be set up at Patras, the third largest Greek city, in the northern Peloponnese. It was envisaged to be an institution that would emphasize the natural and the social sciences and would attract Greek professors who taught in foreign universities. A charter for the establishment of such a university, to be called the University of Patras, was approved in 1964. The organization and governance of this newer university was to be similar to those of Athens and Salonica.

The charter stated that "the University includes 'technical' schools and schools of other positive sciences, of economic and social sciences, of business organization, administration and management, and research institutes".[12] However, when it opened in 1966, the University of Patras started with only a Physico-Mathematical School and 150 students. The school included four departments: Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and Biology. The duration of the course was four years. In 1967, a Polytechnical School was added with one area of specialization, namely, Electrology (for engineers in electronics). It was to be a five-year course.

In 1971, there were 1,220 students registered at the University, and 89 members of the faculty.

The University of Ioannina was founded in 1970 as an "autonomous" institution of "highest" education, similar in governance and organization to the other universities. Before that (1964-1970) it was a branch of the University of Salonica. It consisted of a School of Philosophy and a Physico-Mathematical School, both extensions of the Salonica counterparts. The same schools operate today with many areas of specialization similar to the Schools of Philosophy in Salonica and Athens. In 1971, the University of Ioannina had 1,313 students and 51 members of the faculty.

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[12] _Ibid._, p. 391

The National Metsovion Polytechnic (Polytechneion)

At the outset it would be appropriate to point out that the National Polytechnic should not be confused with the sub-university level "polytechnics" found in other countries or the Greek higher technical schools discussed earlier. It is more like a Poly-Technical University or Institutes of Technology, such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States, or similar Technical institutions in European countries.

The origins of the National Polytechnic as a post-secondary institution can be traced to the "School of Industrial Arts" established in 1887. The purpose of this school was stated as the "education of technicians in industry and public service" and more particularly, "the scientific training" of civil and mechanical engineers, topographers and foremen.[13] It admitted graduates of the "lyceum" and the _gymnasion_, who had passed entrance examinations.

In 1914, this institution was given its present name, the "National Metsovion Polytechneion." It comprised two "highest" schools: one for civil engineers, and another for mechanical engineers. A school for architects was added the same year, and another, for electrical and telecommunications engineers, was planned for the future. In the same year, the Polytechnic was recognized as equivalent to the University of Athens and was placed second in the educational hierarchy. In addition to being given sole charge of the training of high-level "technicians-engineers", it was responsible for the organization and supervision of lower technical education. Holders of a school-leaving certificate from a gymnasion could sit for the entrance examination of the various schools.

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[13] _Ibid._, pp. 138-9

In 1929, the Polytechnic's functions were expanded to include "theoretical and practical scientific research" in all technological and scientific fields. By that time also, it had developed to be more of a "public" institution with a mandate by the State to guide the development of all technical education and to prepare the highest level technological manpower for private and public enterprises. In 1940, it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Education and Religions.

Currently the National Polytechnic includes five schools: Civil Engineering, Electrical and Mechanical Engineering, Architecture, Chemical Engineering, and Engineering for Topographers and Rural Surveyors. In 1970 there were 3,628 students enrolled, and their distribution was as follows:

School of Civil Engineering	1,208
School of Electrical and Mechanical Engineering	900
School of Architecture	667
School of Chemical Engineering	438
School of Topography and Rural Surveying	415

Panteios School of Political Sciences

The Panteios School of Political Sciences, or simply Panteios as it is more commonly known, started out as a private institution in 1930 under the name "Free School of Political, Economic and Social Sciences." Its purpose was "the education of high-level officials for service in the government, the banks and in other institutions and the creation of public-minded persons with principles, character, high intellectual standards and sound knowledge." The "Educational Renaissance," the association which founded it, hoped that the school would contribute to the intellectual, educational, and general reformation of the nation.[14]

In 1931, the school acquired the name "Panteios," after Alexander Pantos, a wealthy Greek who had recently died in Paris. Pantos had stipulated in his will that upon his death his fortune should be used to found a school similar to the French "Ecole des Sciences Politiques" of which he was a graduate. Pantos' wishes were fulfilled by naming the existing Free School of Political, Economic and Social Sciences after him. In 1936, Panteios was recognized as an "autonomous" institution of "highest" education, and in 1937, it was placed under the direct supervision of the State. In the same year, it acquired its present name, the Panteios Highest School of Political Sciences. Its purpose was stated as: (a)"the provision of higher education and the intellectual and national preparation of leaders who will be cognizant of their mission and responsibility for the welfare and general progress of the fatherland; (b) the preparation of public civil servants through the development of political, economic and social scientific knowledge; and (c) the post-graduate

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[14] _Ibid._, p. 252

(in-service) training of public servants as well as of law graduates who plan to teach in the gymnasia and urban schools the elements of law and political economy."[15]

Currently, the full course at Panteios lasts for four years. In the fourth year, there are two areas of specialization, viz., political sciences and public administration. In 1971, there were 6,096 students registered, and 67 members of the faculty.

School of Economic and Commercial Sciences

This school was founded as an "autonomous" institution of "highest" learning in 1920. It was called "Highest School of Commercial Studies," and it was "equivalent" to the University of Athens. It acquired its present name in 1926. Its purpose has been the provision of higher theoretical and applied economic and commercial education. In 1939, it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and Religions.

After the first two years of a four-year course, students may enter and specialize either in the Department of Economics or the Department of Business. In 1971, there were 5,681 students and 42 members of the faculty in the School.

The Industrial Schools of Piraeus and Salonica

The Industrial School of Piraeus is an outgrowth of the "Free School of Industrial Studies" which was founded in 1938 with the support of Greek industrialists and business corporations. Its purpose was to provide further education for leaders in industry. It was recognized as an institution of "highest" learning in 1958 and was renamed "Highest Industrial School." It was to be a professionally (vocationally) oriented school for the "economic and administrative training of leaders in business, state services and public organizations."[16] In 1959, it came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and Religions. With its elevation to university status, the School became less "vocationally" and "industrially" oriented, and more for the education of leaders in the civil service and the various public establishments.

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[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 302-303

The course of study is four years. In the fourth year, students may specialize in Statistical Studies, Organization and Management, and Maritime Studies. In 1971, 3,715 students were registered, and the School's faculty numbered 51 members.

The Industrial School of Salonica started out in 1948 in similar fashion as its counterpart in Piraeus, and followed a similar course of development. It was named Highest School of Industrial Studies in 1958. In 1966, it attained full status as a "highest" institution, and came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Students in the School may specialize in Industrial Economics, Trade and Industrial Affairs. In 1971, the School had 1,693 students and 42 members of the faculty.

Athens School of Agriculture and Earth Sciences

This School was founded in 1920 and came under the authority of the Ministry of Agriculture. Its purpose was to train high-level manpower in agriculture for high positions in the public agricultural enterprises and in the promotion of the sciences related to the various branches of agricultural production."[17] In 1934, the School attained university status and in 1959, it was placed under the Ministry of Education. The course of study is five years. In the last year, students specialize in one of the following fields: Agriculture, Agricultural Economics, Entomology, Forestry, Plant Pathology, Winery, and Zoology. In 1971, the School had an enrollment of 1,125 students and a faculty of 116 members.

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[16] *Ibid.*, p.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 192

The School of Fine Arts

The precursors to this School have been the Art School established in 1843 and the School of Fine Arts which was placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education in 1910. Its purpose was "the theoretical and practical education of artists."[18] It acquired its present name and attained the status of "highest" institution in 1930. Its aims were broadened to include (a) the promotion of "artistic sensitivity" among the public, especially through art exhibits, and (b) the special education of school teachers of art.

The School of Fine Arts includes departments of painting, sculpture, econography, interior decorating, typography and book design, landscape architecture, mosaics, and ceramics. In 1971, it had an enrollment of 267 students and a faculty of 71 members.

"Higher" (Non-University Level) Education

In addition to the university-level higher institutions there are a variety of post-secondary educational establishments. These are referred to as "higher" (anōtera) to distinguish them from the top-level schools (anōtata) described above. We have already described the higher technical and vocational institutions (Ch. VII), including the recently established Higher Technical Education Centers (K.A.T.E.). Among the rest, there is a group which, although not of university status, nevertheless, legally comes under the authority of "highest" education. This group includes the National Academy of Physical Education in Athens with a branch in Salonica, two Schools of Home Economics, three Schools for Kindergarten Teachers, a college for the In-service Training of Elementary School Teachers, a college for the In-Service Training of Secondary School Teachers and eight Pedagogical Academies (Heracleion, Ioannina, Lamia, Larisa, Crete, Mytilene, Tripolis, Florina).

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 157

Total enrollments in these schools in 1972-73 amounted to 3,560 students. Of these, 1,958 or 55 per cent were enrolled in the Pedagogical Academies.

The Pedagogical Academies are two-year teacher-training institutes for the preparation of elementary school teachers. The government recently has been planning to extend the period of study to three years. In addition to general education subjects (Greek, history, religion, mathematics, science, music, art, etc.) the education of the prospective teachers includes "professional" courses and experiences, e.g., pedagogics, educational psychology, practice teaching and organization and administration of education.[19]

Finally, mention should be made of such higher educational establishments as the military schools (for naval, police, military and airforce officers).

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[19] On the legislation governing the pedagogical academies, see Kingdom of Greece, Ministry of National Education and Religions, Decree Law No. 842, On the Reorganization of the Pedagogical Academies. Athens: National Printing Office, 1971.

Expansion and Opportunities

As shown in Table VII, the growth of higher education, in terms of enrollments, in the last couple of decades has been quite spectacular. In 1954-55 there were 16,900 students registered in post-secondary institutions (highest and higher). Ten years later (1964-65) the number soared to 53,305, and government statistics for 1970-71 show a further substantial increase to a total of 86,741 students. This phenomenal growth exceeded by far all predictions and expectations. For example, in 1965, the Mediterranean Regional Project Report estimated that in order to meet projected manpower requirements enrollments had to increase to 46,000 in 1974, i.e., by approximately 62 per cent above the level of 1961.[20] They had already increased by over 300 per cent in 1970-71. This overall growth, however, was uneven, with the Universities of Athens and Salonica showing by far the largest increases. It appears that enrollments in the scientific and technological fields did not grow relative to other fields, a point which, according to some, does not help in promoting the goals of development. Educational and economic planners now realize, however, that the precise mix of schooling and development is more elusive than it was felt in the 1960's, the decade of scientific planning and development. In the case of Greece, the recent Plan for the Long-Range Development of Greece (1972) in many respects echoed the same observations on the inadequacies of the educational system, including "higher" education, as the Mediterranean Regional Project Report in the 1960's. According to the Plan, higher institutions should be oriented towards the long-range goals it projected, and one way to do this would be for all students to receive a general introduction to the theoretical and applied sciences. In addition, all levels and types of education, especially higher and highest technical, needed to be expanded and improved, and a large increase in graduates from the polytechnics and the physico-mathematical schools was necessary. Specifically, the plan suggested that enrollments in higher technical schools must increase from 10,000 (1971) to 120,000 students in 1987 and in highest institutions from 90,000 to 170,000 students. Immediate radical measures must be taken, according to this Plan, "to modernize the entire educational system." As to "highest" education, the Plan stated:

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[20] M.P.R. Report, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

> The institutions of highest education, especially, must undertake a continuing program of research into their changing role and must seek to adjust their structure and functions to the new circumstances. Important problems which will occupy "highest" education include the following: curriculum planning, organization of teaching, quality of instruction, cooperation between institutions of "highest" education and the other educational and research institutions as well as the productive classes, the closer relationship between the universities and the larger community ... the ensuring of mobility among specialties ... In order to secure the preconditions for the solution of these problems top priority should be given to the reorganization of the administration of highest institutions.[21]

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[21] Plan for the Long-Range Development of Greece, op. cit., p. 105.

Opportunities for Higher Education

Earlier in this chapter (p. VIII-1) it was shown that recently the demand for "superior" and "higher" education has exceeded by far the supply of available places. A large number of secondary school graduates who want to continue their education are not able to do so either because there are no places, or, as has happened in one field, because they do not attain the minimum score required by the respective schools at the entrance examinations. The standards of performance are set by the respective institutions and/or schools. These have generally been quite high and mere graduation from a gymnasion is not a guarantee that a candidate will qualify in the entrance examinations. A consequence of this has been the proliferation of privately operated post-gymnasion university-preparatory classes, called phrontisteria, whose main purpose is solely to prepare students for the university entrance examinations. The universities have attributed the growth of phrontisteria to the poor quality of instruction in the secondary schools; others have blamed the universities for their inflexible and unrealistically high standards required of the graduates of gymnasia. Criticisms about the alleged lowering of standards in the gymnasia have appeared quite often in the last couple of decades. At the same time, however, the great demand for further education, the limited places in the corresponding institutions and the maintenance of the same system of entrance examinations could not but have made inevitable the emergence and thriving of these propaideutic classes, namely, the phrontisteria. In any case, it is widely recognized that such classes pose serious problems for the students, the gymnasia, the universities, and the society at large. The policy of the military government has been ultimately to abolish the phrontisteria,[22] but as yet this has not been accomplished.

Among other things, the phrontisteria have restricted further selection into tertiary institutions and have favored students who can afford to attend them. In particular, students from cities and from more affluent background have had more advantages.

As in other countries, selection into universities and other tertiary institutions is ostensibly based on achievement criteria and examinations open to anybody. We know, however, that socio-economic and other disparities in "educational participation"[23] exist, particularly at the tertiary level. One index of such disparities for which data are available relates the socio-economic composition of students to the socio-economic distribution of the male labor force. A recent study by the Committee for Scientific and Technical Personnel of O.E.C.D. shows that socio-economic disparities are to be found in all member countries: Youths from the "upper" and "middle" strata are over-represented among higher education students, while youth from lower strata are under-represented.[24] Data from Greece for the years 1959-60 and 1963-64 show that "children of farmers, workers, and service personnel were under-represented among university students, children of traders and middle-and higher-level employees were moderately over-represented, and children of persons in the liberal professions were greatly over-represented."[25] Specifically, the pattern of disparities is shown in Table VIII.

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[22] See the statement by Mr. N. Gantonas, Minister of Education, in Eleftheros Kosmos, August 25, 1973.

[23] In this case, "educational participation" means "enrollment of persons at some level of formal education, or the retention of students from one level of school to another." See Committee for Scientific and Technical Personnel, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Conferences on Policies for Educational Growth, Group Disparities in Educational Participation. Background Study No. 4. Paris, April 1, 1970, p. 8. Hereafter cited as O.C.E.D. Group Disparities.

[24] Ibid., pp. v, 25 ff.

Data on father's occupation of students in highest institutions provided by the National Statistical Service of Greece for the year 1961-62 and 1969-70 also shows that white-collar upper socio-economic groups are over-represented while farmers, craftsmen, production process workers, and service personnel are under-represented. For example, in 1961, while the "professional, etc." and "clerical, etc." groups contributed only 8.6 per cent of the economically active male population, they were represented by about 24 per cent of students in highest institutions. On the other hand, "farmers, fisherman, etc." who made up 43 per cent of the male population, were represented by about 26 per cent, while "craftsmen, production process workers, etc..." who constituted about 28 per cent of the male population, were represented by about 10 per cent among students (see Table IX). The pattern for 1969-70, the latest year for which data are available is shown in Table X . For purposes of comparison this Table also includes the 1961-62 figures. It can be seen that certain occupational groups, e.g. farmers, craftsmen, sales and small businessmen have registered slight rises in the student representation from 1961-62 to 1969-70, while the striking over-representation of the upper socio-economic groups (professional, technical, managerial and clerical) has decreased. But disparities still persist. Particularly noticeable is the underrepresentation of the "Farmers, etc." and the "Craftsmen, etc." groups. Yet,

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[25] _Ibid_., p. 33.

TABLE VIII

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS AND OF MALE LABOUR FORCE BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC CATEGORIES, 1959-60, 1963-64.*

Socio-Economic Categories	Students		Male Labour Force
	1959-60	1963-64	1961
1. Liberal Professions	13.9	12.8	3.4
2. Higher-Level Employees	2.5	2.4	1.0
3. Middle-Level Employees	9.3	10.2	4.2
4. Traders	10.0	10.8	8.0
5. Farmers	24.5	25.1	48.0
6. Workers	12.3	12.2	26.5
7. Service Personnel And Armed Forces	3.3	3.0	6.5
8. Others	24.2	23.5	2.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Source: O.E.C.D. Group Disparities, p. 234.

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TABLE IX
PATERNAL OCCUPATION OF STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MALE POPULATION (1961-62)
(PERCENTAGES)

Occupational Group	Greek Male Population	Paternal Occupation (N = 30, 617)	Fathers Actively Engaged in an Occupation (N = 23, 4410)*	Selectivity Index	Selectivity Index
	A	B	C	S = B/A	S = C/A
Professional, technical, managerial, executive, etc.	4.5	14.1	18.5	3.6	4.1
Clerical and related	4.1	9.8	12.9	2.4	3.1
Sales, small businessmen, etc.	7.8	10.6	13.7	1.4	1.7
Farmers, fishermen, forestry, etc.	48.0	25.8	33.7	.5	.7
Mining, quarrying, etc.	.7	0.0	.1	--	.1
Transport and communications	4.2	2.8	3.7	.7	.9
Craftsmen, production process workers, etc.	21.7	10.3	13.5	.45	.6
Service and permanent personnel of armed forces	6.4	3.2	3.9	.5	.6
Occupation not determined	--	0.0	0.0		
Retired, disabled or private income	2.6	10.3 (23.4)		9	
Dead		12.0			
Others (occupation not declared)		1.1			
Total	100.0	100.0			

*This column includes only those students whose fathers are actively engaged in an occupation.

Sources: National Statistical Service of Greece, Statistics of Education: Higher Education (Athens: National Printing Office, 1964), P. 6; National Statistical Service of Greece, Results of the Population and Housing Census of March, 1961. Sample Elaboration, Vol. III, "Employment," (Athens, 1962), P. 35.

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TABLE X

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS IN HIGHEST INSTITUTIONS AND OF MALE LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, 1961-62, 1969-70.

Father's Occupation	Students		Economically Active Population		Selectivity Index	
	1961-62 A	1969-70 B	1961 C	1971 D	1961 A/C	1971 B/D
1. Professional, technical managerial, executive, etc.	14.1	12.1	4.5	6.3	3.6	1.9
2. Clerical and related	9.8	13.8	4.1	7.6	2.4	1.8
3. Sales, small businessmen, and related	10.6	13.2	7.8	7.0	1.4	1.9
4. Farmers, fishermen, and forestry	25.8	26.9	48.0	40.5	.5	.66
5. Mining, quarrying	0.0	0.1	.7			
6. Transport and communication	2.8	3.6	4.2			
7. Craftsmen, production process workers, and workers not classified elsewhere	10.3	14.6	21.7	29.4	.45	.5
8. Service personnel and recreation	3.2	3.0	6.4	6.9	.5	.44
9. Armed forces		1.4				
10. Retired, disabled, or private income	10.3	9.6	2.6	2.3		
11. Others (occupation not declared)		1.6				
12. Occupation not classifiable	0.0	0.1				
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		

this is not uncommon among rural societies. Indeed, one could say that quite a substantial number of students come from lower socio-economic groups. According to the O.E.C.D. survey, for example, in 1963 the proportion of Greek students of "working class" origin in higher education was higher than that of French, Dutch, Japanese, German, Spanish, American, Portuguese, and Danish students.[26]

We have also sought to find out whether enrollments at the various "schools" or "faculties" were correlated with occupational groups. There is some evidence to show that sons and daughters of "farmers, fishermen, etc." are over-represented in pedagogical academies, and in theology, and they are the only group that significantly avoids the "polytechnics." Further, we have estimated that "farmers, fishermen, etc." is the only occupational group with significantly less than expected enrollments in medicine and dentistry. Interestingly, the same group shows a significant over-representation in political science. Turning to the upper socio-economic groups, we find that the "professional, managerial, executive, etc." occupational category has more students in law, medicine, dentistry and in polytechnical courses than expected, but less than expected in the economics and business branches.

Another index of disparities in educational participation for which data are available is regional representation. The O.E.C.D. survey on "Group Disparities in Educational Participation" concluded that regional disparities were common to all of the member countries and, more pertinently, "contrary to some opinions, there has been no evident trend toward narrowing of regional disparities during the rapid postwar expansion of education." The survey added:

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[26] O.E.C.D., Group Disparities, op. cit., p. 61.

> "...the only genuine indication of contraction of regional differences in participation appears in countries and at school levels where enrollment ratios are generally high and advantaged regions have already reached a near-maximum level."[27]

Enrollments in "highest" institutions in Greece in 1969-70 show that about 56 per cent of all students were born in the greater Athens area, the Peloponnese, and Macedonia. But these areas are also the most heavily populated. According to the 1971 population census, about 60 per cent of the entire Greek population live in them. Estimates relating number of students per 1,000 inhabitants show that the least represented region is Thrace, which also registers the lowest educational level of the Greek population. But disparities in other regions do not seem to be substantial, as shown below:

Region	Population (1971)	Students (1969-70)	No. Per 1,000
Greater Athens	2,540,241	17,222	6.7
Rest of Central Greece and Euboea	992,077	7,344	7.3
Peloponnesos	986,912	11,355	11.5
Ionian Islands	184,443	1,673	8.6
Epirus	310,334	3,326	10.5
Thessaly	659,913	5,274	8.0
Macedonia	1,890,684	13,409	7.0
Thrace	329,582	1,400	4.2
Aegian Islands	417,813	3,186	7.3
Crete	456,642	4,855	10.0

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[27] *Ibid.*, p. iii.

Finally, one should note the disparities that exist in Greece on the basis of sex. The statistics for 1969-70 indicate that of a total enrollment of 76,181 students in all "highest" institutions and those under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of "Highest" Education (e.g. pedagogical academies, etc.) only 24,610 were women, i.e., 32.3 per cent. The only equitable distribution is in the pedagogical academies, where approximately 50 per cent are women.

Some Problems of Tertiary Education

Some of the problems of Greek tertiary education are problems common to most countries of the world, especially the developing ones. For example, high expansion of enrollments has not been accompanied by comparable expansion of facilities or teaching staff. This has resulted in overcrowding, teacher shortages, insufficient instructional facilities, particularly in the sciences and in the technical fields, and limited financial resources. Other problems, however, are peculiar to Greece and may be called "systemic" or endemic to the Greek system.

One set of such peculiarities stems from the relationship of tertiary education to the Greek state. As shown above, universities and higher institutions are by constitutional provision under the direct supervision of the State. They are fully supported from public funds and their professors are civil servants. Their purported "autonomous" status is considerably circumscribed, and, as already noted, the State has always interfered in their internal affairs. At times this has even included what should be taught and what the attitudes of professors should be on political issues, two areas normally assumed to lie within the university's purview of academic freedom.

The role of the Greek State in tertiary education has also contributed to the virtual absence of university-initiated innovations or experimentation. The relationship between growth of central government interest and slow pace of reform or experimentation has been found to obtain in other countries. But this has been particularly strong in Greece where universities, in particular, have been perceived to be closely connected with the polity and the interests of the nation. Any university reform, therefore, has had to consider wide political, social, and economic implications. Further, any changes involving money have to be approved by both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Finance. This entails endless bureaucratic red tape and innumerable delays, which stifle enthusiasm or initiatives for innovations.

But the relative absence of major reforms must also be sought in the hierarchical structure governing the administration of the institutions, the constituent schools, and the "faculties" or departments. At the "departmental" level, for example, the professor, who is often the Chair holder, is the undisputed master who exercises complete authority over all other members and rules the department like a feudal estate. Some professors have ruled departments for decades. Professor Exarchopoulos, for example, held the Chair of Pedagogy from the beginning of the twentieth century until the 1950's. As a powerful member of the prestigious School of Philosophy, he virtually controlled the educational climate of Greece for over forty years. Exarchopoulos was a follower of the rather inflexible German pedagogical tradition of the period, and, as noted earlier in this study (see Chapter IV), a staunch supporter of the purist Greco-Christian educational culture.

Another "systemic" problem of Greek tertiary education has been the statutory provision that within eighteen months after their appointment, professors are obligated to write textbooks for their courses. This short period has had the effect of considerable plagiarism or translations of foreign texts rather than any original research. Again this can be most saliently observed in the field of education and writings in educational psychology, educational philosophy, or educational sociology.

Still another endemic factor that has contributed to making Greek tertiary institutions rather inflexible and authoritarian has been the epistemological orientation of the University of Athens which has influenced the structure and orientation of most of the other universities. Nurtured in the German neo-humanism and Idealism of the nineteenth century, the University of Athens remained impervious to empirical science and experimental modes of scientific inquiry. The Faculty (School) of Philosophy, where pedagogy was studied, and which occupied the center of the university, emphasized non-experimental approaches to knowledge and learning. Even today, many professors follow the German tradition.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION:

TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN GREEK EDUCATION

As a concluding section, it would be appropriate to comment briefly on the ideology and policies of Greek education in the context of this report's framework, namely modernization.

As was stated earlier, the military regime that was established after April 21, 1967, vowed to "reconstruct" or "restore" the country by basing it on indigenous and long-cherished "traditional" values, institutions, and ideas. Accordingly, it embarked upon a systematic program of "purification" of Greek institutions, which, among other things, entailed the proscription of what were regarded as dangerous foreign practices and ideologies, and the molding of people's minds by means of heavy overdoses of moralistic and nationalistic military indoctrination.

The military government's conception of national rebuilding was most saliently apparent in its views and policies about education. With their assumption of power, the new leaders singled out the educational reforms of 1964-65 as an example of change that was inspired by doctrines that were inimical to Greek national viability and development. Hence, very soon after it was established, the military government dismantled the so-called "Ekpaideutikē Metarrythmisē" (Educational Reform) and dismissed and persecuted most of those who had anything to do with the reforms. All the key features and innovations of the 1964 Law were eliminated, i.e., the Pedagogical Institute, the Academic Certificate, the use of the demotic in the elementary schools, the use of classical texts in translation, and all the new textbooks that were written in 1964-66. The selection process into the universities and institutions of higher learning was changed, and so was the administration and organization of schools. The structural reorganization of the system and the curriculum reverted to pre-1964 patterns. Indeed in some respects, particularly in the content of education and in its ideological underpinnings, the military government's conception of education was not fundamentally different from that of the nineteenth century. A rather interesting conception of modernization is observed here, namely, the reconstruction of a social institution through a revival of traditional norms and ideas. This has not been entirely new in the annals of modern Greek education. As demonstrated in Chapter II, the post-independence educational system was in part based on a revival of an older Greek educational culture and ideology. At that time, however, there was a greater acceptance of Western patterns, which were woven into the indigenous fabric and created modern Greek paideia. What the consequences of the rather monolithic orientation of the military regime are going to be is difficult to predict. Certainly during the seven-year period of military rule (1967-1974) there was a conspicuous absence of intellectual life in Greece today, and one did not observe anything that was intriguing or novel.

It is important, however, to remind ourselves that change and modernization in Greek education have been hard to come by, and our observations of the current situation must be put in their proper historical perspective. Attempts at even modest innovations, e.g., during the First World War and in the mid-1960's, have not been lastingly successful. They ran against strong resistance and once liberal governments were replaced, incipient changes were thrown overboard.

The educational events and controversies of the past couple of decades illustrate the conflicts, dilemmas, and ambiguities of a Western European nation inspired and sustained by an attachment to traditional values and ideologies, but currently confronted with the painful task of adjusting its institutions and outlook to the demands of a modern, technological civilization. Despite rapid political change Greece has been equally notorious for the tenacity of traditional forms and ideas, and, in many respects, the recent educational events were no exception.

Conservatism in education, the preservation of older institutions and values, has become synonymous with the preservation of the very foundations of the modern Greek nation-state and culture. This has been most clearly manifested in the discussions over the language question, the content of the curriculum, and the nature, scope, and functions of the gymnasion. Reformers of these aspects of the system have often found themselves defending their views against accusations of treason against Greek premises, values, and ideals.

In the context of Greek national development, the persistence of traditionalism and conservatism in education is perhaps understandable. The building of modern Greece has in large part been based on former traditions and ideologies and on borrowed Western European models and concepts. Greek history has been marked by constant wars and overwhelming political upheavals. There has been little opportunity for retrenchment, regularization, and stabilization. In a sense the process of rebirth, which started with the War of Independence in the early decades of the nineteenth century, has not yet been completed. Consequently, there has been a noticeable reluctance to abandon or transform those original institutions, practices, and ideas which gave impetus to the creation of the new nation-state. Furthermore, although it has identified itself in spirit and outlook with Western European culture, Greece has not until quite recently, experienced the disruptions and culture jolts of industrialism and the accompanying social and technological revolution. This partly explains the uncertainties concerning the role of schools in the techno-economic development of the country as well as the ambivalent attitude toward the dilemma of technical versus general education. To be sure, all the proposals, plans, and policies for change have emphasized the techno-economic ramifications of education and the need to strengthen technical and vocational schooling. But despite a general and vague statement of the idea, the measures of the last years cannot be said to have been based on any precise understanding of how schooling is to be woven into processes of social and economic change. Moreover, one detects a lingering ambivalence concerning the value of technical and practical training over theoretical and cultural knowledge.

While the reluctance to abandon tradition may have a rational justification, since tradition can provide cultural cohesion and stability, nevertheless, it also reflects an entrenchment into positions of power of a group of intellectuals, pedagogues, and politicians with similar educational backgrounds, similar social ideologies, and similar interests. This obligarchy can easily be identified in the educational bureaucracy, the University of Athens, the Church hierarchy, and the conservative political parties. Their positions on the 1964 measures speak for themselves.

But equally illustrative of the persistence of a traditional approach is the fact that both critics and reformers have viewed the reform of education from a similar orientation, mostly from the narrowly pedagogical one. Education, a national concern, touching the lives of every individual,

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has been almost exclusively in the hands of "specialists," consisting of a few university professors and bureaucrats and some educational practitioners. As a popular magazine exclaimed: "Have the specialists ever called upon successful industrialists, merchants, bankers, the pragmatists, to ask them how they perceive the man of tomorrow, or what type of individual is needed in today's changing world?" One could also add: Have the specialists ever asked the ordinary man -- the peasant, the worker, the small business man, the artisan -- or the students themselves to express their views on their aspirations, expectations, and preferences?

Despite these strictures and the inadequacies of its nature, scope, and basis, the reform movement, particularly the 1964 policies, may well have turned out to be the beginning of a silent social and pedagogical revolution in Greek modernization. There were indications that the acuteness of some issues, for example, that of language, which could previously shake governments, dismiss eminent professors, cause public riots and bloodshed, and send people before the public prosecutor had been blunted. Other issues, such as classicism and classical humanism had been forcefully challenged. The very idea that education can be regarded as investment or that educational policy must consider the techno-economic needs of the country was a radical departure in Greek thinking. A new generation of people who had been educated in countries other than Germany or France or who had been exposed to different ideas had reached maturity and had been clamoring for change. Economic development had expanded the horizons of the rural, peasant population, and the demand for education had increased. More people were asking questions about the benefits of their children of former types of schooling. Others wanted equal opportunities and privileges. But on April 21, 1967, the army took over, and a seven-year repressive and educationally sterile military dictatorship was established. It is hoped that with the restoration of civilian rule in July, 1974, the country will soon return to parliamentary government and with it to a new educational revival.

GLOSSARY

Anōtate Ekpaideusis: Literally "highest" education or "superior" education which includes the universities and other university-level institutions, e.g., the National Polytechnic, the Panteios School of Political Sciences, etc.

Anōtera Ekpaideusis: Literally "higher" education which includes post-secondary institutions but not universities and university-level establishments.

Anthrōpismos: Humanism.

Boulē or Voulē: Greek Chamber of Deputies; parliament.

Choriatēs: Villager; derogatorily an unrefined individual, a rustic.

Dēmotikē: The popular form of the Greek language; demotic.

Dēmotikismos: The educational and literary movement associated with the promotion of the popular form of the Greek language (the demotic).

Didaskaleion: Teacher training school; closest Greek equivalent to the normal school.

Diglossy: Bilingualism; in Greece the existence of two language forms, the pure (katharevousa) and the popular (demotikē).

Ekpaideusis: Formal education; schooling.

Eparchia: Province; district

Eparchiotēs: One who comes from or lives in a province (district); a provincial; derogatorily, an unrefined individual or a rustic.

Gymnasion, plural, *gymnasia*: A six-year secondary school, generally humanistic or classical in its orientation; the Greek equivalent to the French lycee, the German *Gymnasium* or the English Grammar School.

Hellenic school: A three-year secondary or "middle" school, established soon after the creation of the modern Greek state.

Katharevousa: The "pure" form of the modern Greek language.

Lykeion (lyceum): After 1929, a secondary school with a scientific (practical) orientation. From 1964-1967, a three-year academically selective upper secondary school, (grades 10-12).

Megali Idea: Great or grand idea; the Greek ideology or policy which envisaged an expanded Greek nation-state, the successor to the Byzantine Empire, with its center in Constantinople.

Mesē ekpaideusis: Secondary education or schooling.

Millet: In the nineteenth century, a non-Moslem religio-ethnic community of the Ottoman Empire, e.g., Greek Orthodox *millet*, Jewish *millet*, etc.

GLOSSARY (continued)

Nomos: An administrative unit of local government; province.

Paideia: Education interpreted in a broader sense than formal schooling; the ideals of Greek culture; closest Greek equivalent to the French *culture* or the German *Bildung*.

Panepistemion: University.

Patris: Fatherland or motherland.

Phanar: A section of the city of Istanbul where the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople was located.

Phanariote(s): Literally a person who resides in the Phanar section of Istanbul (Constantinople); often used to refer to upper-class Greeks (intellectuals, merchants, etc.) who settled in mainland Greece after the creation of the modern Greek state.

Philopatria: Love of fatherland.

Philotimo: Honor; self-esteem.

Pistis: Faith.

Phrontisterion: College-preparatory or propaideutic classes following graduation from a secondary school.

Polytechneion: Polytechnic, technical university.

Scholeion: School.

Semi-gymnasion: The lower three classes of a six-year *gymnasion*.

Stoicheiodēs ekpaideusis: Elementary education or schooling.

Stratēlatēs: General, leader of the army.

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